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Bibliographical Reminiscences and Prophesies*

By J. CHRISTIAN BAY

IT is an act of gracious consideration that you wish to give heed to the somewhat superannuated ideas that blend in my mind as a mixture of reminiscence and prophesy. It is the order of the day to prophesy upon existential principles rather than on past experiences. Men of the year 1871—I name with deep respect Koch, Bishop, Roden and Windsor—have been inspired (as I, a lesser relic of '71, confess to be) rather by the cumulated experience and tradition of ages. Many of you close the doors of the past and begin a new era. New systems develop everywhere about us, innocently engineered by such as know intimately the mechanics of libraries but perforce are denied the pleasure of opening the books.

My first thought was to wish upon you a fourth handful of Western books.[1] These, however, now are figuring in High Fi-

* Read at the meeting of the Society at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1955.

[1] J. Christian Bay, *A Handful of Western Books.* Cedar Rapids, Privately printed for friends of the Torch Press, 1935. 44 pp. *A Second Handful of Western Books. Ibid.*, 1936. 56 pp. *A Third Handful of Western Books. Ibid.*, 1937. 44 pp.

nance, which is beyond the ken of bibliographers, and so I shall approach the bibliographic gospel in a roundabout way, and introduce an old friend, Sir James M. Barrie, one of the last of our secular Fathers, inspired and prophetic. I demonstrate to you his last book named for mystic Miss Julie Logan, whose ethereal existence makes us aware of history quite as forcefully as Peter Pan, winging upward, draws us beyond it. Of bibliographic interest it is that *Farewell, Miss Julie Logan* was the first book of pure fiction ever honored by special publication (London having been paved with books for centuries) as a supplement to the *Times* (December 24, 1931). One hundred copies of this original issue were numbered and signed by Sir James and bound—but I warn you that copies exist, ingeniously manufactured and signed in that bibliopegic laboratory (was it at the Isle of Wight?) where Dickens also was said to have been given attention. Less exposed to counterfeiting was the issue in 1930 of fifty privately printed copies of Barrie's early essays collected under the title *The Greenwood Hat* and printed for the Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, K. C.—the copy I now show to you having served for the edification of Ada and John Galsworthy, to whom it forever is "affectionately" inscribed. My point in producing it is to show that even a rag of newspaper in a gutter, its message forgotten—such an object, as immortalized in one of these essays, may serve the ultimate purpose of bibliography, which I understand to be definitive characterization of *form and contents*.

I admire Barrie as one provincialist admires another. My own provincialism began with my father, who came from an island in Denmark, as remote as Thrums, to California in 1851, a seafaring man, a vigilante and a member of the San Francisco Keystone Lodge of Scottish Masons. He was up in the Sierra Nevada at about the time when Professor Lindley in London gave to *our* big trees the name Wellingtonia, which in a late hour was changed to *Sequoiadendron* and *Washingtonia*, respective of two genera, his Grace the Duke being ruled out.

Those were the years when our army engineers sturdily surveyed our Western country and left a rich dossier of description and adventure, giving also to a wondering horde of pioneers a treasure of authentic pictures of our national landscape. The lithographs we find in the Pacific Railroad reports and other, similar, publications, never have been equaled. One of the surveyors, Balduin Möllhausen, wrote two excellent works about his journeys, and later nearly a hundred tales of American types and forms of life. His *Wanderings in the Prairies and Deserts of North America* was the first book on the West that I read.

My father returned to Denmark in 1866, journeying overland. The prairies scattered over the Middle Border impressed him deeply. So when I, twenty-seven years later, came to Iowa, a young and naïve botanist, in my twenty-second year, I expected to find prairies everywhere. To my amazement, not even the name prairie was found in the then most voluminous handbook of geology, even though a score of scientists by that time had debated the problem of the origin of this form of landscape. In 1893 Prof. L. H. Pammel hunted in vain for a piece of native prairie in Iowa. So did a stalwart, handsome student of his, George Washington Carver, and myself. Not until years later did B. Shimek analyze the few patches of virgin prairie in the Northwest, and I saw traces while visiting remote places where comfort and progress bloomed among people living in sod-houses and dugouts. That opened my eyes to the natural and human ecology of this, our midwestern empire.

Before joining the Library of Congress staff I had analyzed the great controversy continued for several decennia, over the origin of our prairies. It seemed, however, more fruitful to collaterate the explorations of the plains region, its historical development and the pertinent human action and spirit. The ensemble of it, in its historical and moral significance, does two things to you: It shows man in his struggles for an earthly paradise, and it provides a critical but constructive view of life. So I then began

and continued for forty years to collect literary material on our prairie region. This at that time, it happily was possible to do economically, for librarians of that era were not trusted with decent funds for their own use. The rest of the world, however, was turning reasonably liberal—witness the literary movement headed by Hamlin Garland. At my entry into the Western field I had met *Main-Travelled Roads* and Owen Wister's *Virginian.*

The result of my extra-official efforts now are in evidence in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. After 1905, when I went to Crerar, Chicago for many years offered fine opportunities for specialized personal collecting efforts, even in most narrow fields. But my domain also widened. While concentrating on Iowa or Nebraska one is tempted to cross Lake Michigan and the Ohio River, to look beyond Detroit or into Kentucky, or peep beyond the Rocky Mountains. Overland journeys lead us into remote places where any hill or road crossing is significant. And how may one avoid the *Leatherstocking Tales* when they stare you in the face? In my case, *The Last of the Mohicans*, uncut and in blue boards, literally fell into my lap in Chicago, and I had a nice half-binding put on the two volumes! But that happened long before Herschel V. Jones appeared on the scene and preached about leaving books as far as possible in their original state.

In my *Handfuls* I have mentioned numerous fine Western books easy to obtain in Chicago during the first quarter of our century but now never seen. Let us agree, however, that currently, year by year, new jewels turn up to be garnered by those who possess the needed instinct for permanency of interest. This perennial comfort brightened my days, as they elsewise were directed to promote the welfare of a rapidly growing scientific-technical and medical reference library, the healthy growth of which involved an instinct for, and knowledge of, books of a vastly different order, but not of less importance.

To get away from myself, let me sketch briefly the book-collecting scene as it looked then. We had here, in our early days, formidable magnates, such as John A. Spoor and the Valentines, specializing in English literature. Mr. Spoor assembled his unique Charles Lamb collection, which the Livingstons catalogued. Mr. Hubbard came over from Michigan in search of colonial Americana, as did Mr. Clements. Mrs. Harold McCormick wished for a few unique incunabula and classical philosophy, while her brother-in-law, Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, favored colonial Americana, especially Virginica. Gentle Mr. Edward Everett Ayer sought historical Americana and material on our Indians. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt filled his house with valuable rarities of all kinds, somewhat like Mr. Ayer, and, like him, proved to have wholesome philanthropic motives. Private collections numbering from 5,000 to 50,000 volumes were not scarce in Chicago and suburbs early in the century. Mr. Ellsworth's treasury counted better than Dr. R. reported them in later years, and Mr. Charles Gunther assembled vast collections, notably Lincolniana, incunabula and manuscripts. Genial Dr. Mortimer Frank brought together early illustrated medical works and used them in preparing an expanded edition of Choulant's work on the history of anatomic illustration; his collection was willed to the University of Chicago. Mr. Charles Rubens acquired source-material on Dickens, and the Manierre and Wentworth accumulations became scattered by auction. Dr. Irving S. Cutter very deliberately brought together the Western books now housed in the *Chicago Tribune* tower. The choice little Americana collection donated by Senator William Mason to the Urbana Public Library came upon the auction table. Those were the years when genial William Smith Mason, of Evanston, brought together his famous Frankliniana, surrounded by an extraordinary apparatus of sources on our War of Independence; this enormous treasure, carefully selected, now or-

naments Yale. Mr. De Renne gave attention to English poetic classics. Partly through Chicago connections Mr. W. T. H. Howe, of Cincinnati, built up a towering mass of literary armaments, English, American, books and manuscripts, which at his death was purchased by Dr. Berg and donated to the New York Public Library.[2]

Earlier, Dr. Nicholas Senn had assembled by purchase several large European medical collections which were donated to the Newberry Library, whence they came by transfer to the Crerar.

In those years I unofficially gave advice to Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, and at times stood between him and Mr. H. V. Jones in their contentions for *rarissima*. Jones was a keen, spectacular plunger, first for early examples of printing, then turned to English literature, later to Americana, and finally first editions of famous authors' first books. Auctions followed each advent of a new field, except the last.

It may seem idle for a librarian in active service to pay attention to such private activities. Nevertheless, to scan each book in the small hundred composing the Ambrose collection, which formed the nucleus of Jones's Americana, each book a monument to its author and in perfect condition, was educational and enlightening; the outstanding gem being the *Account of the Inoculation of Small-Pox in Boston* (1722), an uncut copy—incidentally an anonymous book then recently identified by Professor Kittredge as a Cotton Mather.

The most picturesque and inspired of all our local collectors of books was, however, Chester (Hjördur) H. Thordarson, a native of Iceland, known in his day as the Nicola Tesla of America. He as a child had walked from Dane County, Wisconsin, to North Dakota, and later he had carried a dinner-pail along Chicago's western suburbs. His inventions in industrial electricity gradually permitted him to cultivate—literally reap—books on

[2] John D. Gordan, "The Berg Collection at the New York Public Library." PAPERS, XLVIII (1954), 306-307.

a large scale, not only his beloved Islandica but even more extensively the great works of the ages that would reveal the forces and forms in Nature and man's interpretation of them. He was an autodidact gifted with extraordinary powers of observation, active fancies, and a tenacious, truly Icelandic memory. Among all the bookmen I ever knew he possessed the surest instinct for sound enlightenment of lasting, perennial value; and he not only, as the wealth of books came to him, discovered truth for himself, but ardently verified his finds by his books, so that in time his library became to him an organism. Historical science, pure and applied, was his constant concern, to which he brought an inborn *ingenium*. For nearly forty years he stayed on deck, an inspired *studius perpetuus*; a source of insight and enthusiasm to any mere librarian or even a bibliologist, because he invariably would interweave his threads of thought, his reading and his discoveries with modern ideas and views. His collection has four cornerstones: Chaucer, Shakespeare's *Poems* of 1640, Milton's *Poems* of 1645, and the Coverdale Bible, 1538. Thordarson personified the principle that science and the humanities go hand in hand. He made even a nationalized industry join the chorus and induced good cheer far and wide. In 1929 I briefly described his library, having seen it grow book by book, and in 1950 Mr. Ralph Hagedorn gave a much more intelligent analysis, after it had been absorbed by the University of Wisconsin, the natural place for it.[3] The collection bears witness to the fertilization of scholarship by the genius of unlettered tradition. The old master's only schooling had been imparted by Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox. She gave him additionally a dime, which unfortunately he spent or lost, as we never were able to find it.[4]

[3] PAPERS, XXIII (1929), Part I, pp. 1-17; XLIV (1944), 29-54. Footnote 1 incorrectly gives 1930 as the year of Vol. XXIII.

[4] I am able to show to you an A.S. copy of Mrs. Wilcox's famous poem, "Laugh, and the world laughs with you; weep, and you weep alone," and surrender it to Mr. Stanley Pargellis for the Newberry Library; he deserves to benefit by this meeting.

Now for modest prophesies.

Whether sold at auction or absorbed by public institutions, the great collections assembled by private initiative and talent, as well as many age-old monumental libraries, have given rise to an enormous bibliographic activity in which not only librarians but booksellers and auction houses have taken part. The catalogues of the John Crerar Library's holdings in the history of science stimulated American interests in this field even before 1905, and the Newberry's published lists and catalogues of books on important subjects within its domain have contributed greatly to make our Middle Border aware of the need of acquiring fit source material for study and research. For more than fifty years the Lakeside Press also has stimulated our sense of responsibility for Americana. During the same period Dr. Clifford G. Grulee quietly built up a veritable collection of books on pediatrics, remarkable for completeness. It has been donated to Crerar. But can anybody tell me why the subject of pediatrics should not be as generally exciting among bookmen, even bibliographers, as for example the Edgar A. Poe baubles?

It is a pleasure to learn that Mr. Franklin J. Meine's splendid collections on American humor is being taken over by the University of Illinois. We then shall have two collections on this subject in this corner of the world, as that of Dr. Frank Walter, at the University of Minnesota, hitherto was the only one. (Heaven knows that a leaven of humor is needed in these muddled times, as a weapon against the humbug of our latter-day atomists.)

Thus, having the fundamental formal apparatus well in hand, we welcome the younger generation of bibliographers and bibliologists which will turn its serious attention to a more searching analysis of the books we discovered for them, or that were willed to us by earlier workers. Innumerable, and yet dimly visible, sources of enlightenment remain to be opened. The late Dr. Herbert Putnam defined the librarian's task as one devoted to

"the welfare of knowledge." But is it not true that despite what we have in hand, we have scarcely begun to make potentially possible use of our Americana, discovered, described with skill and preserved by the use of elaborate mechanical ingenuity? Those who are aware of this will agree that we hardly can turn a corner anywhere or open an inquiry on any subject without being baffled by the insufficiency of pertinent cumulated knowledge. Mr. Theodore Besterman's bibliography is a mockery to the specialist in any subject. Our American beginnings in science, exploration, thought and fancy still remain largely to be explained to the world—and even to our own people—with the degree of emphasis we have shown in other, palpably less important matters. Bibliographic work, despite the *Catalogue of the Surgeon-General's Library* and other monumental work entrusted to us by Mr. Sabin, George W. Cole and Messrs. Winship, Eames and Wroth, still is in its infancy. Most of us librarians and bibliographers had enough to do in trying to organize the older accumulations. In the complex future our successors will call on themselves, or be called upon, to continue (or scrap and renew the organization we contrived), meeting the day's demands in such a way that their plough will cut deeper into our lettered deposits and record them as they deserve. This is all the more urgent because our country, in contradistinction to most others, is *naissant*, and our forces traveling hopefully.

Still the pursuit of bibliography everywhere, and now, moreover, in a world totally at variance with that which fostered our elders, also is a function indefinitely defined. Once it was involved in librarianship as an integral factor. Specialization pushed it behind administration, yet its importance never has been greater than now. Its methodology, as it varies from simple registration to intricate machinism, needs determining and implementing. Ordinary registration is far from difficult, except that the modern avalanche of material deters us from ploughing as deeply as we would like, and from weeding out the inevitable

dross—about which we can never agree, anyhow, so we retain much of it. Speed governs and often mars the work. Some of us who have practiced it, however, paused now and then and wondered at the superficiality of the output generally—or even why such men as Hain, Copinger, Proctor, *et id genus*, did not in their day, with plenty of time on their hands, stop to read and critically evaluate the incunabula they described so meticulously. Others, a Haller, a Choulant, Kurt Sprengel, Ernst Meyer, and H. Kopp (for the sciences I know best) also practiced bibliography, but interjected descriptive and critical commentary into their work, as if they were describing objects in nature and art. So *form* sufficed for some, not unlike an inscription on a gravestone. Libraries hold many cemeteries of this kind. About sixty years ago a little German gentleman advocated coupling libraries and museums and blowing life into their combined contents by means of the living word. It was done here and there, not without good results. Dr. Meyer hated a closed book.

Now in a great, nay overwhelming measure, form has had deserved attention, and when prophesying that our plough, appropriately sharpened by recent renaissances in its construction, henceforth may be set deeper, i.e., into *contents*, we extend a friendly hand to those who struggle with "documentation." In many natural groups of publications and documents, in many families and *genera* of books, *subjects* are more important than authorship among those whose *business* it is to seek and combine facts and ideas. So if and when librarians strike gold in their ardent search for specialists in scholarship, a critical-historical method might well be encouraged with our young contemporaries, to the advantage of others who prefer work in their laboratories, to fretting over books and periodicals and catalogues, attempting to check their finds. It is not infrequent that constructive criticism even of laboratory research and its results came from a library desk. In the humanities a similar helpful-

ness is, of course, much more frequent, but for the purpose of our thesis, not less significant.

Naïve as these attempts at prophesy may seem, they lead us beyond doing mere post-mortem analysis. You will recollect how our patron-saint, Wilberforce Eames, some time lost his appendix, but fortunately, as one of his friends put it, preserved his title *and contents*.

It is contents that count. Deny it and deify form, and you will be unable to find a treatise on color by "G. R. Goethe," because no catalogue contains such an author's name.

The thesis is, then, that bibliographic function begins with anatomic orientation but is consummated by physiological reactions.

Some Unconventional Women Before 1800: Printers, Booksellers, and Collectors*

By Frances Hamill

TRADITIONALLY woman was the first seeker after knowledge, and was evicted from the Garden of Eden for her pains. We are concerned, however, with her rôle in the preservation of knowledge, and in the technology of the printed word.

From Nara, the eighth-century capital of Japan, westward to China, to Continental Europe, to Great Britain and across the Atlantic to the Americas, women followed (and sometimes led) the development of printing. The span is too great for detailed treatment, or even for a full enumeration of the unusual women who found their way into the fields of printing, bookselling and collecting. My scope is from the Oriental Empress who mass-printed to save her soul, to Mary Catherine Goddard, whose name boldly appears on the official copy of the Declaration of Independence.

Printing is believed to have stemmed from the Buddhist monasteries of China during the seventh century, but the earliest well-defined block print extant dates from 770 A.D., executed by order of the Empress Shiyau-toku of Japan. In 735 the scholar Kibi-no-mabi, the inventor of the Japanese syllabary or script, on returning from the Chinese capital became the tutor of the devout Empress Shiyau-toku and no doubt showed her the way to spread her faith. In the middle of the century the Empress

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1955.

issued an edict that every house in the realm should be provided with a manuscript copy of the *Classic of Filial Piety*, the Confucian primer of morality, but it was another twenty years before the first known printing in the world was accomplished.

According to the teaching of Buddha, the placing of dhâranîs or charms within pagodas could both lengthen one's life and bring Paradise closer; it was debatable whether seventy-seven or ninety-nine copies were necessary to accomplish this end. To be on the safe side, the Empress of Japan ordered a million copies to be printed, taking her text from the Buddhist scripture *Vimala Nirbhasa Sutra*. These charms were printed on strips of paper, two inches wide by about eighteen inches long, to accommodate thirty columns of five characters each. Each sheet was rolled and placed under the spire of a miniature three-storied wooden pagoda four and one half inches high by about three and one half inches in diameter, and the pagodas were distributed to the Buddhist temples and monasteries of Japan. This early printing was produced in Japan, in the Sanskrit language, in Chinese characters. The Empress died in 770 while the little pagodas were in the process of distribution. We hope that she found her place in Paradise; certainly the million dhâranîs obtained for her an honored place in the history of printing. A number of the dhâranîs survive today; there are three in the Library of Congress.

At the end of the twelfth century, shortly before Genghis Khan's scorched-earth invasion of Mongolia and Northwest China destroyed the Tangut Empire, a quantity of books were printed at Kara-Khoto. These evidently were Buddhist, produced in the language of the Tanguts, a people of Tibetan origin. Discovered centuries later by a Russian expedition, and still untranslated, a number of the volumes (including a *Diamond Sutra* dated 1189) contain the statement that they were printed by order of the Tangut Empress, and at her expense.

Together with the ability to manufacture paper, the art of

printing spread westward. In mid fifteenth-century Italy, a printing press was set up in the convent of St. Jacobus Ripoli at Florence. Here the Dominican nuns, acting as compositors under the direction of Brothers Domenico da Pistoia and Piero da Pisa, printed some sixty-nine books before 1483. Their first work was the Italian *Donatus* of 1476; its success brought orders to Ripoli from various parts of Italy. The nuns turned out the works of Petrarch, Augustinus, Hieronymus, Plutarch and Suetonius, as well as the legend of the order's patron saint, Catherine of Siena, and many other religious and devotional books. About 1482 this enterprising group of ladies undertook to print Boccaccio's *Decameron* in Italian, the compositors being the Sisters Marietta and Rosarietta. This edition is extremely scarce, only four copies having survived the ravages of time.

Although her name does not appear in the colophon, the first woman publisher of the western world is believed to have been Madame vom Stege, wife of the Belgian Erwin vom Stege who was imprisoned for writing a satire against the city council of Cologne. While vom Stege was serving his sentence, his wife arranged for the offending attack to be printed. The type was loaned by Nicolaus Götz, and the work produced at the Castle Reichenstein and dated June 14, 1477. Probably printed that same year at Mantua, a Hebrew book, *Behinat Olam*, carries the statement that Estellina, wife of the printer Abraham Conat, did the typesetting with the help of one man. Anna Rügerin of Augsburg must be designated as the earliest recorded woman printer, as her name appears in the colophon of two books, the *Sachsenspiegel* dated June 22, 1484, and *Formulare und Teusch rhetorica*, published the following month.

Vanderheagen, in his bibliography of the city of Ghent, credits the widow Beatrice van Orroir with the 1490 Ghent printing of a book titled *Payse lest ghemaect te Tours*, or rather it is recorded that she was paid for three hundred copies of the work, although so far no copy has come to light. The name Jacquette

Lebée is incorporated in the colophon of *La regle des Marchands*, printed at Provins on the first of October, 1496.

Before we leave the fifteenth century, three other women should be mentioned: the nun Hroswitha, Countess Judith of Flanders, and Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. In Saxony, at the end of the tenth century, the Benedictine Hroswitha of Gandersheim accumulated books, studied them diligently, and, encouraged by her young abbess Gerberge (niece of Emperor Otto), wrote plays in Latin. Her six comedies, based on the lives of the saints, were devised on the principle that the world, the flesh and the devil should not have all the good plays to themselves. The manuscript of Hroswitha's work was discovered by Germany's first poet laureate, Conrad Celtes, and edited by him for publication in Nuremberg in 1501. One of the two woodcut frontispieces, attributed to Dürer, shows the author, book in hand, being presented to the Emperor Otto the Great. Hroswitha was the first recorded bibliophile, several centuries earlier than Jean Grolier. We know from her own writings that she was familiar with the apocryphal scriptures and the lives and legends of the saints, also that she knew the works of Ovid, Horace, Terence and Virgil. In the nun's own words: "I strive as best I might to set forth a text of some sort, good or bad, from the sayings of those books that I had gathered together within the walls of our convent at Gandersheim."

A hundred years later, the Countess Judith of Flanders and her first husband collected books which Judith bequeathed to a Benedictine abbey in honor of her second husband. Born in Bruges in 1032 of royal descent, Judith at twenty married Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, and lived for a time in England. There she obtained two magnificent illuminated English manuscripts of the Gospels. These manuscripts, executed between 1020 and 1050 and now in the Morgan Library, traveled with Judith and Tostig on a political mission to Rome, and to St. Omer in 1061. There another extremely beautiful manuscript,

patterned after the English ones, was made for Judith; a portrait therein shows her in the act of presenting the book to Christ. This manuscript is now at Fulda. Tostig, returning to England to fight for his country, died at Stamford Bridge in 1066. Later his widow married Duke Welf of Bavaria, patron of Weingarten Abbey. At her death Judith of Flanders left her finest pieces to the library at Weingarten. Her two English manuscripts are said to have greatly influenced the art of illumination in the south of Germany.

About 1469 the Kentish silk and wool merchant William Caxton entered the household of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, wife of Charles the Bold and sister of Edward IV of England. It is not known if Caxton's duties were as commercial advisor, secretary, or amanuensis, but the young duchess, far from home, welcomed the services of a compatriot versed in both French and English. The personable and literate William Caxton found a good friend in the highly educated Margaret. At court, Caxton mentioned his unfinished and discarded translation of Lefèvre's history of Troy. Encouraged or commanded by the duchess, he completed the translation into English, and in 1471 presented her with its manuscript. To avoid transcribing the works for friends and patrons, and again spurred on by Margaret, Caxton studied the art of printing at Cologne and, with the aid of Colard Mansion, produced his *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* in Bruges in 1475. This was the first book to be printed in English. The following year Caxton returned to his native land to become the first printer in England.

By the sixteenth century, in most continental cities and Great Britain, women were well established in the business of printing, publishing and bookselling. In 1501, in Paris, the widow Guyonne Viart, bringing as her dowry the press inherited from Jean Higman, married Henri Estienne. Thus was laid the foundation for that well-known printing house. After Estienne's death his widow married a third famous printer, Simon de Colines. Guy-

onne Viart Higman Estienne de Colines left three Estienne sons to carry on a tradition; in 1772 a descendant, Marie Estienne Herissant, printed a specimen page of her own type. Other enterprising sixteenth-century Paris printers include Charlotte Guillard, who had a sizable establishment and did some work for the English trade; the widow Kerver, who printed Books of Hours, and Madeline Boursette, who used a charming printer's mark incorporating her initials with a stolid elephant. In Antwerp in 1539 Françoise Larouge printed Colet's *Grammar*; another Antwerpian, Angell van der Haeghen, printed for a factor in St. Paul's Churchyard, and is mentioned in Henry VIII's Exchequer accounts. In Nuremberg, Catherina Gerlachin printed good books for the popular taste, including one of American interest: Frobisher's *Angli Navigatione*. At Leipzig, Kunigund Hergotten brought out an illustrated Old and New Testament in 1531; Anna Richoff was printing in Lubeck, and the widow Elizabeth in Cologne. Several rare and beautiful books were published in Venice by Elizabeth de' Rusconi about 1525, and in Rome Girolama de' Cartolari was printing on the Piazza del Pellegrino.

The earliest true-born Englishwoman printer appears to have been Elizabeth Pickering, wife of Robert Redman. The British Museum copy of *The Treasure of Poore Men* has the following colophon: "Imprinted by me Robert Redman 24 Jan 1539" but the printer's initials "E. R." are presumed to stand for his wife Elizabeth. Redman died the next year, and in November his widow issued Standish's *Little Treatise against Robert Barnes*. Katherine Hertford printed books in Aldersgate, and Joan Sutton was working at The Cradle in Lombard Street in the sixties. In 1579 Joane Jugge of London issued Martin Cortes' *Art of Navigation* and also *A briefe Treatise . . . on Dauncing*, by Vermigli.

The powerful Company of Stationers, incorporated 1557, had rules affecting the widows of printers. For example, a business not fully licensed and active at the time of the printer's death

could not be continued by his widow; a properly licensed widow must forfeit her rights if she married other than a freeman stationer. An apprentice, on the other hand, became a master printer (without obtaining the approval of the Court of Assistance and the Archbishop) if he married into a licensed business. To quote Professor Arber: "It was a lively time among eligible printers, when it was known that a master printer was dying." The life of Jacquelin Vautrollier of Blackfriars was particularly affected by the rules of the Company of Stationers. She had been disbarred by The Star Chamber for printing under her husband's name while he was a political refugee in Edinburgh, and for continuing to print after his death. Later she was allowed to finish a leaf of the Greek Testament and Luther's *Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians*. After twelve months of widowhood Jacquelin avoided further printing restrictions by marrying her chief apprentice, Richard Field. Field thereby succeeded to one of the foremost printing establishments in London and became the first printer of Shakespeare; he produced *Venus and Adonis* in 1593, and *Lucrece* in 1594.

About 1590, Margaret Allde, mother of the printer Edward, was selling books at the Long Shop in the Poultry; John Charlewood was printing Lyly's *Endymion*, as well as *Galathea*, for Joan Broome; and the following year, 1593, Charlewood's widow printed Peele's *Honour of the Garter*. The sixteenth century can be topped off with another three-printer widow, Joan Orwin, who married (with less than a year between each of them) John Kingston, George Robinson and Thomas Orwin. One book, *Art of Rhetorique*, was published by all three husbands and finally by the widow Orwin herself. Her other printings include Marlowe's *The Tragedy of Dido* (1594) and Thomas Playfere's *The Pathway to Perfection* (1596).

The field from 1600 to 1800 is a wide one, peopled with numerous women printers, many of them booksellers as well. In Great Britain alone over sixty women are listed in the seven-

teenth-century records of the Company of Stationers. So we shall attend only to those who are notable for the books they printed, or for the part they played in the history of books. In 1620, in Augsburg, Sara Mangin Wittib issued the now rare work *Auss America!* In London Elizabeth Adams printed *The Shepherd's Calendar* and Camden's *Britannica*. Bacon's *Essays* found two women publishers in short order: in 1624 Elizabeth Jaggard's imprint appeared, and an augmented edition was published the next year for Hannah Barrett. Elizabeth Allde brought out *The Widow's Treasure* in 1631, and the spurious Shakespeare play, the *Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham*, in 1633. This was a bumper year: Elizabeth Purslowe, under the initials E. P., printed Fulke-Greville's *Certain Learned and Elegant Works*, Donne's *Juvenilia* and Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and in Rouen the widow Courant published the controversial *Progeny of Catholics and Protestants*. The following year Jean Mommart of Brussels produced Gerrot Barry's *Military Discipline* for the English trade. By 1632 John Allot had secured the rights to sixteen Shakespeare plays and was chief publisher of the second folio. After Allot's death his widow brought out several books, one of them *The Countryman's Instruction*, 1636. Subsequently Mrs. Allot married Philip Chetwind, who thereby became publisher of Shakespeare's third folio.

Anne Griffin of Old Bailey Street was a witness in 1642 against Archbishop Laud, who had reprimanded her for her 1637 printing of Beacon's *Displaying of the Popish Masse*. Martha Harrison had trouble with the law, a warrant being issued by the Council of State because of her printing of the seditious and libelous *Prognatio* in 1649. Both women managed to continue as printers; Martha may be the "Mrs. Harrison, bookseller" who appears in the Stationers' records of 1649 as having advertised for a lost horse. Alice Norton was a printer of pamphlets and broadsides in the forties, and also published Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*. John Raworth, printer of St. Paul's Wharf, borrowed £25 from

the Parish of St. Bennet and died in July of the same year, 1645. His widow's imprint appears on Milton's first collected *Poems*: "London, by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, 1645." The eventual success of this charming little volume may have helped to pay off the parish. In 1647 Hannah Allen of Pope's Head Alley entered into the thick of the Cotton-Williams controversy in colonial America by publishing Cotton's *The Bloudy Tenant, Washed and Made White*. She also printed the fourth of John Eliot's Indian tracts, Winslow's *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel*.

One of today's most sought-after cookery books is Elizabeth, Countess of Kent's *A Choice Manual & a True Gentlewoman's Delight*. Gertrude Dawson issued at least seven editions of the book, using six different imprints and altering the form of her own name almost as often: G. D., Gurt Dawson, Gartrude Dawson and finally, with dignity, Gertrude Dawson. Jane Bell printed and sold popular literature from 1650 to 1659, including *Reynard the Fox*, Sidney's *Ourania* and the third edition of *King Lear*. The Customs House printer was Mary Simmons, whom the Hearth Tax Roll for 1666 shows as having the largest establishment of its sort in London; it was possessed of a record thirteen hearths. The runner-up may have been Mrs. Cotes, whose premises boasted three presses, two apprentices and nine pressmen.

In 1664, Elizabeth Calvert had been imprisoned for selling a treasonable book, and had subsequent brushes with the law in her publishing ventures. In 1667 the Mayor of Bristol testified that Elizabeth Calvert had broken the law in sending to his city books regarding the Great Fire of London. Our last record of the incorrigible Elizabeth is on her commitment to Gatehouse Prison for printing Joseph Wilson's *Nehushtan* (1668), at a private press in Southwick. The complainant was Samuel Mearnes, bookseller and binder.

The first edition of Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* was printed in 1690, and early copies have the imprint "Eliz. Holt for Thomas Basset." The Company of Stationers ordered the widow of two years to discontinue her trade, and her name was dropped from the Locke title-page: so came an issued point.

One of the most remarkable women of her time was Maria Sibylla Merian, artist and engraver, who in 1698 went with her daughter on a perilous two-year journey to Surinam. There, with scientific accuracy, she made drawings of what have been called "abominable creatures that most certainly could only be of the devil's making." According to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, "... her glistening serpents, her wet frogs and her crawling spiders are executed with horrible precision." From the angle of bookmaking, however, Sibylla Merian's work is a picture of rare tropical flowering plants and the creatures which inhabit them, all in their brilliant steamy element. Executed graphically, boldly but affectionately, Sibylla Merian's plates are among the most decorative in the field of natural history. Her book, *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium*, was published in Amsterdam in 1705, and in an augmented edition in 1719.

The remarkable thing about Elizabeth Craighton of Ipswich is that she was a spinster who printed and sold books from 1728 to 1776, a span of forty-eight years without benefit of husband. Sarah Harding of Dublin was imprisoned in 1728 for publishing a satirical poem; she also printed pamphlets for Dean Swift.

When Alexander Blackwell gave up medicine for printing, he did not appreciate the power of the Company of Stationers. He had served no apprenticeship to the trade. When financial problems arose, Blackwell was promptly put into debtor's prison. Elizabeth was his good and intelligent wife. With advice from Sir Hans Sloane she set her husband to work on the text for *A Curious Herbal*, while she designed, engraved and colored the plates from specimens studied at Chelsea, and herself pub-

lished the two folio volumes, 1737-1739. The subscriptions to this heroic work released Blackwell from prison for the time being.

In 1747, that fine English cookery book of the spurious "First catch your hare" fame was published by the author, Hannah Glasse, and sold by Mrs. Wharton and Mrs. Ashburns in their respective shops. Many editions appeared before the end of the century. Mary Pepyat, daughter and sister of printers, became "Printer to the City of Dublin" about 1755. Ten years later Mary Ann Rocque brought out in London *A Set of Plans and Forts of America*. Sarah Baskerville, widow of John, kept the Cambridge presses for three months after his death in 1775; two books only bear her imprint. She did, however, keep the famous type foundry going until 1777. In 1794, Citizen Deltufo petitioned the French Republic for a grant for a typographical school for women in Paris. Deltufo assured the board of public instruction that women were more skilful in typesetting, less easily distracted, less bound by old habits, and altogether better fitted for steady application. His promise was that in a brief time he could train any pupil, the only requirement being the ability to read and write. A final eighteenth-century foreign book is entirely the work of one woman. Mary Lawrance served as artist, engraver, author, printer and publisher of an extensive monograph, *A Collection of Roses from Nature;* this folio was issued from Queen Anne Street, London, in 1799.

From Margaret of Navarre down through the centuries to Marie Antoinette, there were many famous women collectors; much has been written of their beautiful and distinguished books. A few, including Madame de Pompadour, had their own presses. Diane de Poitiers, the rival of Catherine de Medici for books and manuscripts as well as for the affections of Henry II, is credited with inducing the King to request that one copy of every book as published be sent to the royal libraries at Blois and Fon-

tainebleau; this initiated the copyright law. Queen Elizabeth advanced her cause in Ireland by founding the University of Dublin and by ordering the first font of Irish type. Catherine the Great purchased the books and manuscripts of Voltaire and Diderot, establishing the nucleus of the Imperial Hermitage Library.

And so to America. A well-to-do widower, the Reverend Jose Glover, married Elizabeth Harris, of a sizable Oxford University family of comfortable means. When, as a dissenter, Glover resigned his parish in Surrey, he decided to try the New World. In July, 1638, the Glovers and their children sailed for America on the *John of London*. With them went a printing press, sixty pounds' sterling worth of paper, a collection of books to be sold in the new country, and the indentured locksmith Stephen Day and his family. Glover died on the voyage to Boston, leaving, according to his will, ". . . all estate of lands and chattels and goods in New England, likewise all my estate in Old England . . . [to] my dear and loving wife." Arriving in Boston in September, Mrs. Glover moved into the mansion house in Cambridge, formerly the dwelling of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay. She soon bought another house to accommodate Stephen Day, his family and the printing press; the last entry of the Cambridge Proprietor's Record for 1638 reads: "Mrs. Glover. Bought of James Luxford one house." Winthrop's *Journal* tells us: "1639 mo. 1. A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on the seas hithertofore." Stephen Day knew little of printing, although his son Matthew may have served as an apprentice in England. Day set up and operated the press with Matthew and, under the proprietorship of Elizabeth Glover, in 1639 issued the first piece printed in the colonies: a single sheet reproducing the *Freeman's Oath*. In 1640 Mrs. Glover expended £33 on their next venture; starkly written and crude in appearance, this volume was the first

to be printed in colonial America—the "Bay Psalm Book." In its preface Richard Mather warns: "If the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some desire and expect, let them consider that God's altar needs not pollishings." In June, 1641, Henry Dunster, Harvard's first president, married the widow Glover and moved her press into his house on the present site of Massachusetts Hall. Elizabeth died two years later, and the press became closely associated with Harvard. Samuel Green was the last printer to manage the Glover-Day-Dunster press. William Perkins' *The Foundation of Christian Religion* carries in its imprint a record of the first American woman bookseller: "Boston, printed by Samuel Green, and to be sold by Mary Avery, near the sign of the Blue Anchor, 1682."

Probably only two women ran printing machines in seventeenth-century North America. The first, Doña Maria de Benavides of the family of Calderon, was established on the Empedradillo in Mexico City. In 1689 she published *Vida Admirable . . . de Figueroa* (which includes an account of the missions in the North), Vetancurt's *Chronica . . . de Mexico* in 1697, and the 1698 *Teatro Mexicano*. Venegas' . . . *La Vida del . . . Salvatierra* (1754), was printed by Maria de Ribera, the granddaughter of the first Maria. The press of Maryland's first printer, William Nuthead, together with £6.9.0, was left to his wife Dinah. In 1696 she followed the seat of government from St. Mary's City to Annapolis, where she petitioned for a license to print. On posting £100 as bond for good behavior in the operation of her press, Dinah Nuthead of Arundell County was granted permission to print blank bills, writs, warrants, etc. Her only recorded book has probably not survived: this was the Reverend Peregrine Conet's *Sermon*, 1696. As she was unable to sign her name, Dinah's license to print bears Dinah's mark.

Our earliest recorded woman binder was Elizabeth Short, widow of the first printer of Connecticut. In 1714 she bound two thousand copies of *Confession of Faith*, printed in New London in

1710. Known as the "Saybrook Platform," the book appeared in leather over birch boards, and Mrs. Short received sixpence a copy, or £50 for the job. In Rhode Island, Anne Franklin was the first New England woman printer. Established in the Town School House, Newport, she was assisted by her daughters and in 1736 was named Colony Printer. An early Anne Franklin handbill reads: "Prints, linens, calicos, silks, etc., in figures very lively and durable colors, and without offensive smell, which commonly attends linen printed here." Benjamin Franklin had served his apprenticeship under Anne Franklin's husband James, and when her son James was to learn the trade Anne sent him to Philadelphia as apprentice to his uncle Benjamin. After young James returned to Rhode Island he and his mother, in 1758, started *The Newport Mercury*. This is the oldest American newspaper being published today.

Another apprentice to Benjamin Franklin was Lewis Timothy, the first librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Timothy became a journeyman for Franklin and set up a press in Charleston, South Carolina. He died there in 1738 and his wife Elizabeth continued the press, using the imprint of her son Peter. In 1782 her daughter-in-law, widow of Peter, undertook the publication of the *South Carolina Gazette*, begun half a century earlier.

Pennsylvania and New York each had several eighteenth-century women printers. Cornelia Bradford's husband Andrew set up in Philadelphia in 1712, but was often in trouble for his radical views; from time to time he had to suspend publication of the *American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper of the middle colonies. After his death Cornelia continued the newspaper and did job printing until 1750, when she relinquished the press to her now famous step-nephew, William Bradford. In New York, the widow Catherine Zenger, spoken of as a modest woman, continued her husband's paper, the *New York Weekly Journal*, and occasionally printed books. She retired in favor of her step-

son. In Annapolis, Anne Catherine Hoof Greene was publisher of the *Maryland Gazette* and in 1767 became the public printer to the City of Annapolis. She was commended by the assembly and voted 48,000 pounds of tobacco annually in payment for her work. Three sons and several grandsons became well-known printers. An unusual printer was Penelope Russell, publisher of the Boston *Censor* in 1771. She had the faculty of composing as she worked, and sometimes set type without written copy. The *Washington Spy* was issued by the pioneer Phoebe Herbert of Elizabethtown, Maryland.

Political unrest affected several women printers of this time. Clementine Bird Rind published the *Virginia Gazette* from 1773 to 1775 in Williamsburg, using many anonymous contributions which were supplied by its backer, Thomas Jefferson. Mrs. H. Boyle attempted a loyalist newspaper in Williamsburg in 1774, but the venture was short-lived. Margaret Green Draper continued her husband's *Newsletter*, the only paper printed during Boston's occupation by the British. With the evacuation Mrs. Draper fled to Halifax and to England, where the British government granted her a pension. Sarah Goddard loaned her son William £300 to start the *Providence Gazette*, and later became his partner. Her daughter Mary Catherine took over another of her brother's printing shops; on Market Street in Baltimore throughout the Revolution she edited the *Maryland Journal* and the *Baltimore Advertizer*. An expert compositor, Mary Catherine Goddard executed the official copy of *The Declaration of Independence*, authorized by Congress on January 18, 1777, for distribution to state legislators. The only surviving copy, attested to by John Hancock, is in the Library of Congress. My apologies, gentlemen, for so many feminine trumpetings. Should their volume trouble you, remember that the rib was Adam's, Kibi-no-mabi evolved the script, Caxton did the printing, and Glover (albeit with his first wife's money) shipped the type to America.

Studies in the Early Editions of the *Fiore di virtù*

By Curt F. Bühler

PROBABLY the most popular of all the books printed in Italian during the fifteenth century was an anonymous work entitled the *Fiore di virtù*.[1] Prior to the year 1501, no fewer than 57 editions in the vernacular of Italy were put out by the presses of the Peninsula; to this should be added the nine editions in Catalan, French and Spanish which were also published in these years.[2] This makes a very respectable total of editions for a popular text of the late Middle Ages; this it essentially is, though in point of time the work belongs to the period of the High Renaissance in Italy. The popularity of this tract continued throughout the following centuries and the text survived in countless editions, chiefly as a chap-book or as a "courtesy book" for the moral education of the young.[3]

Since the influence of the *Fiore di virtù* was not only continuous but equally widespread, the following notes on various bibliographical details of a number of the very earliest editions and on

[1] For particulars concerning this text, see my note "The *Fleurs de toutes vertus* and Christine de Pisan's *L'Epître d'Othéa*," *PMLA*, LXII (1947), 32-44, and the supplemental notice in *PMLA*, LXIV (1949), 600-601.

[2] The text has been discussed and the fifteenth-century editions listed by Lessing J. Rosenwald in his foreword to *The Florentine Fior di Virtu of 1491* (Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, 1953). Most of the Italian editions are also listed by T. M. Guarnaschelli and E. Valenziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome, 1943-1954), II, 222-227, nos. 3927-3970. For a great many of these editions, only a single copy is recorded as being in Italian public libraries. The extreme scarcity of these early editions is further attested by the fact that twelve editions listed by Mr. Rosenwald are not represented in the *Indice*.

[3] The *Fiore di virtù* was continuously printed into the nineteenth century, the British Museum having a copy printed at Venice in 1803. By 1895, a new edition based on manuscript texts was put out by G. Ulrich and printed in Leipzig.

the textual transmission as evidenced by them will, it is hoped, be of general interest. From a literary point of view, of course, the printed editions are late products and a "textus receptus," if one were ever wanted, would necessarily have to be based on a thorough study of the multitude of earlier manuscripts. Nevertheless, since each generation made use of whatever text came to hand, it is not inevitable that the received text will alone be of value for literary research. The *Fiore di virtù* text was extensively quoted and pilfered, as a useful source for homely citations, by many generations of writers of note. It will be of unquestioned value, consequently, to establish for the guidance of literary historians a few of the main groups and the chief lines of textual connection of the earliest editions. The purely bibliographical notations, it may be judged, will be of particular interest to the historians of printing.

I

Under no. 838 of the *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1939, p. 73), the writer added the following note to the listing of the edition of the *Fiore* printed in Venice, at the press established in the Beretin Convento della Ca Grande, in 1474: "f. 3 is from the 1477 edition." This is a masterpiece of understatement!

The unsigned edition of 1474 collates: [*^{2} a-h^{8} i-k^{6}], while the 1477 printing[4] put out by the same press is signed: [*^{2}] a-i^{8} k^{4}. When two editions are printed with the same type and one is a page-for-page reprint of the other, substituted leaves from one edition "planted" in the other are rarely suspected at once and, even when doubt arises, are not always easy to detect with certainty. Where the text runs on without a break, when the typographical design is the same and the leaves are unquestionably of genuine antiquity, then one normally assumes that the book is what it pretends to be—a complete example. If the water-

[4] Compare the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908-1949), V, 238-239. This work is hereafter cited as BMC.

marks and other tell-tale indications point to the suspicion that the book has been "perfected," one would hardly jump to the conclusion that the book was "imperfectly" perfected; one would normally expect that the supplied leaves were obtained from some other copy of the same edition. Without the opportunity to compare a presumably "sophisticated" copy with a perfect example of the same printing, it becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible, to be certain of the nature of the supplied leaves. The Morgan copy of the 1474 "Nel Beretin Convento" edition is the only one in America—and such a comparison has been impossible.

However, a closer examination of the book than was feasible in 1938 was recently undertaken, including a comparison with the 1477 reprint which was acquired by the present writer in the past year. This reveals the unhappy truth that the following fourteen leaves are supplied in the Morgan volume from some copy of the 1477 edition: a1, a2, b5, d3, e3, e4, e8, f1, f5, f6, f8, k1, k2 and k4.[5] That the substitution was done by an earlier owner with full knowledge of *what* was being done and with the deliberate intention of deceiving is made evident by one circumstance. Where the signature marks were present in the leaves substituted from the 1477 edition, these were very carefully and skilfully removed. This is not evident at first glance—but when one is suspicious enough to look for them, then there is no question but that the printed signatures were once present. The removal of them was a patent act of dishonesty.[6]

II

In one respect, certainly, my copy of the 1477 "Nel Beretin Convento" edition of the *Fiore* differs from the other copies of

[5] Signatures k1, k2 and k4 of the 1474 edition correspond to i7, i8 and k2 of the 1477 printing.

[6] For a very similar case, compare the article ("The Creation of a Ghost") by Dr. M. E. Kronenberg (*PBSA*, XLIX [1955], 249-252). This concerns the "manufactured" edition of the *Geestelijke Minnebrief* [Schoonhoven, Canonici apud S. Michaelem, 1500] in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 660).

which I possess the necessary information, viz.: Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale and Biblioteca Riccardiana), London (British Museum), Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana), New York (The Rosenbach Company), Rome (Biblioteca Vaticana) and Verona (Biblioteca Comunale).[7] The outer sheet of the second signature (quarto: b1.2.7.8) in my copy differs from that of the other seven.[8] The differences between the two "states" are slight but constant, and reveal the fact that the type was completely reset during the course of publication. In the vast majority of points (40 of a total of 48, or over 83% of the cases) at which the two states display textual variation, the state typified by the Vatican example corresponds to that in the 1474 edition while my copy departs from this agreement. In three specific cases, it seems certain beyond reasonable doubt that the text of the Vatican state was set up directly from the 1474 edition and not through the intervention of that state represented by my copy. These are the significant points:

(1) On signature [b1] of the 1474 edition, line 9 ends a sentence with the word "conuieni"; line 10 is indented and the first word is "Aristotile." The same situation prevails in the Vatican "state" of the 1477 edition,[9] while my copy has line 10 beginning "uieni. Aristotile . . ." Now it may (perhaps) be possible that by sheer accident the line endings of the 1474 edition and the Vatican state might agree even though not directly related—but how can one account for the exceptional indentation at exactly the same place unless one assumes that the Vatican text was set up from the 1474 print?

(2) At line 17 on the verso of the same leaf, one reads in the 1474 text: "Capitulo viii de le done:". In both states of the 1477 edition the chapter

[7] The *Indice* (no. 3931) lists copies at Velletri and Vicenza which I have not seen. The copy credited to Torino is not a Beretin Convento edition at all, but is an example of Mr. Rosenwald's edition 8.

[8] It was the search for an explanation for these leaves (the reprinted ones in my 1477 *Fiore*) that first caused me to examine all the editions claiming to have been issued at the press Nel Beretin Convento della Ca Grande. The definition "Vatican state" is used (for convenience) to identify the copies of this issue.

[9] The edition 2 *bis* (shortly to be discussed) also has the line ending and the subsequent indentation as the 1474 text.

is correctly numbered "six,"[10] but the Vatican copy offers "Capitulo vi de le donne.", while my copy has "Capitulo. vi. De le donne." If the Vatican text were a reprint of mine, then one would expect the same punctuation and capitalization, and not the accidental return to an earlier style.

(3) In lines 11-12 on the seventh leaf (recto) of the second quire in the 1474 print, one reads the words: "e questa se chiama propria tristeza." For "propria" the Vatican state has a contraction which looks very much like "ꝓprīa". While the abbreviation for "pro" is the standard one for the period, the dot over the *i* seems to have been damaged and the character now looks like an *i* with a nasal bar (*m*-stroke) over it. This could certainly account for the reading in my copy, where "ꝓ prima" is found to the utter confusion of the sense. In any case, no other explanation for this curious text occurs to me.[11]

The inference to be drawn from these examples is certainly that the 1474 edition was the immediate predecessor of the standard (or Vatican) text of the 1477 printing, and that the state in my copy is a later resetting. The question that now presents itself concerns the reason for the existence of the two states. The reprinting of such sheets is of relatively common occurrence among the fifteenth-century books. The only satisfactory explanation for their presence that I have ever been able to think of is that, in such instances, not enough sheets were available (for one reason or another) to complete the copies on hand; when such a shortage became evident, the printer would simply reset the type and run off the number of copies needed.[12] This

[10] Edition 2 *bis* reads: "Capitulo vi de le done:" indicating that the number "eight" is peculiar to the 1474 edition.

[11] In b2, line 9, the 1474 edition and Vatican text have "Salamon" while my copy offers "Salamone." In b2ᵛ, l. 2, the same two texts have "sotieza" where mine has "sotileza." My text has "de lalegreza" at b7, l. 8, where the other two print "dalegreza." In line 21 of the same page, my copy has "Poeta" while the other two have "Profeta." Such examples as these serve to emphasize the fact that the Vatican text descends directly from the 1474 edition and is not dependent on the state found in my copy.

[12] I have discussed this problem on a number of occasions; compare my "Variants in English Incunabula" in *Bookmen's Holiday* (New York, 1943), pp. 459-474; "Observations on Two Caxton Variants," *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950-1951), 97-104; and "The Walters *Polycronicon* of 1495," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIII-XIV (1950-1951), 38-43, 74.

seems to be the only theory that will satisfactorily explain the existing facts.

III

An edition of the *Fiore di virtù* has long been known in the annals of bibliography which contains the rhymed colophon of the Beretin Convento text,[13] though it is certain that this edition was not even printed in Venice. The great incunabula catalogue of the British Museum assigns the printing to another monastic press, that established in the Convent "Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli" in the Via della Scala in Florence. To its bibliographical description, the BMC adds the note:[14]

> The colophon shows that this is reprinted from one of the two editions printed nel Beretin Convento at Venice in 1474 and 1477. If its model is that of 1474 (IA. 20412), the date 1477 here given in the colophon must be that of printing, otherwise the date 23 October 1477 of the second Venetian edition (IA. 20424) supplies a terminus post quem only. The alterations in type 117 R. made in this book presumably preclude its being earlier than the concluding months of the year 1477, but two editions of the Fior di virtù are recorded for the year 1483, the later, finished by 23 September, being printed on paper watermarked with a cross, and as this is the watermark found in the present book, it may perhaps represent a revival in 1483 of type 117 R. slightly modified. The present book is Reichling 180, while Hain 7100 apparently records another reprint of the same nature,

It was with the hope of settling this problem that the present writer cheerfully set off on a quest which has led into many byways. One of the methods of approach was necessarily a textual one, and this gradually became more and more extended. In the long run, the eleven earliest editions were examined in regard to a variety of specific examples where the editions gave

[13] The text here reads: "Delle uirtu ison chiamato el fiore Le feste almeno leg|| gimi per amore. Fu rinnouato nel mille quattro cen||to Septanta septe nel beretim [*sic*] conuento. Della chasa || grande sichiama la chiesa. Grande ornamento della || alma uinesia." The compositor had apparently failed to realize the verse form of the prototype.

[14] BMC VI:621. The *Indice* (no. 3932) dates this edition as "dopo il 23 X 1477."

evidence of falling into distinct groups or "families"; a number of other fifteenth-century editions, and a few later printings that were conveniently at hand were occasionally drawn upon for their readings.[15] The twenty-four editions thus consulted were the following:[16]

Rosenwald[17]	*Imprint*	*Reference*	*Copy consulted*
1	[Venice: Adam of Ambergau, 1471]	3927	Florence N
2	Venice: [Jenson], 29 April 1474	3929	Morgan
[2 bis]	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1474	[R 7098]	Venice M
3	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1474	3928	Morgan
4	Vicenza: [Achates], 1475	3930	Florence N
6	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 23 Oct. 1477	3931	Bühler
[6 bis]	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1477	H 7100	[Not seen]
7	[Florence: Ripoli Press, 1477]	3932	London BM
8	"Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1477"	Pell 4804	Paris BN; Torino N
9	Florence: Ripoli Press, [1477]	3933	" "
10	[Rome: Bulle, 1478]	H 7092	Morgan
11	[Rome: Guldinbeck, 1478]	BMC IV:70	Bühler
24	[Rome: Plannck], 30 June 1484	3943	Huntington
30	Florence: Bonaccorsi & Francisci, 1488	3949	Bühler
32	Treviso: Manzolus, "1489"	3951	Bryn Mawr
39	Florence: [Libri], 1491	—	Rosenwald
59	Florence: [Compagnia del Drago], 1498	3965	Florence N
A	Milan: Turate, 20 Nov. 1502		Morgan
B	Milan: Vimercato, 1524		Bühler
C	Treviso: Righettini, 1666		"
D[18]	Padua: Comino, 1751		"
E	Udine: Murero, 1756		"
F	Bologna: Sassi, 1772		"
G	Bologna: Nella Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1782		"
H	Florence: Brazzini, 1818		"

Only three editions require special comment here; these are 2 *bis*, 6 *bis*, and 8. The edition 2 *bis* has not been previously iden-

[15] With the exception of no. 24, I have seen either the originals or photocopies of all the volumes here discussed. For full particulars of the Huntington copy of no. 24, I am much obliged to Mr. Carey S. Bliss. Mr. George D. Painter has, as always, been kindness itself in replying to my many queries regarding books in the British Museum. I am also obliged to Dr. Elizabeth Mongan for details relative to the 1491 edition, and to Miss Janet M. Agnew and Miss Pamela Reilly for giving me such ready access to the Goodhart-Bryn Mawr copy of no. 32 and for specific details relating to this book.

[16] Two other bibliographies will be repeatedly cited in this study under the sigla

tified as a separate printing, though it is listed by Hain-Reichling 7098. This is not the same as Hain 7098, which (no. 3 above) is also identified as BMC V:238; so far as I am aware, the only copy known is in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice (no. 40231). It also has the rhymed colophon indicating that it was printed at the Beretin Convento in 1474; for reasons shortly to be set forth, it is certainly the earlier of the two editions with this date. I have not seen, nor indeed located, a copy of 6 *bis*, but its existence is attested under Hain 7100.[19] It shares the following particulars with nos. 7, 8, and 9, and would seem to be responsible for their having: (1) the rhymed colophon of the 1477 edition (but without mention of month and day) and (2) the line "Lodato sia Iesu e la sua dolze Madre Vergine Maria", which occurs in no other (genuine) Beretin Convento edition.[20] Under 8, we find a pseudo-Beretin Convento edition. The copy in the University Library at Cambridge was recently assigned by Mr. J. C. T. Oates to the Venetian press of Erhard Ratdolt.[21] The present writer has set forth elsewhere his reasons for assign-

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H (Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* [Stuttgart, 1826-1838]) and R (Dietrich Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium bibliographicum* [Munich, 1905-1914]). Also occasionally cited (as Pell) is Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1897-1909). Unless otherwise noted, the reference number refers to the *Indice*.

[17] Mr. Rosenwald's no. 5, being one of the French texts about which I have written (compare note 1), will here be omitted since it clearly has nothing to do with the Italian texts.

[18] Edition D, according to the preface in that volume, is an attempt to establish a pure text based on manuscripts and is thus not related to the other editions here noted. The title-page of edition H makes it clear that the work was now (1818) primarily a children's book ("utilissimo a' Fanciulli").

[19] See also the statement from BMC VI:621 cited above. The fact that this edition may have disappeared since Hain's day need cause no surprise. The rarity of the copies of the early editions has already been stressed. Only the Morgan copy of no. 10 is recorded and, until recently, the British Museum appeared to own the only copy of edition 11. The copy of this printing which I recently secured has somewhat literally been "read to pieces" and is incomplete at the end. The British Museum's example is also imperfect.

[20] This appears below the verse colophon where the details of the exact date appear in edition 6.

[21] J. C. T. Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 311, no. 1765.

ing this edition to Eucharius Silber at Rome.[22] In any case, as we shall see, this edition is not textually related to the Venetian printings but adheres to the Ripoli tradition.

The only certain way to arrive at a possible relationship between the several editions is to examine a number of specific passages where (relatively) important differences occur. It may seem that the variations are of the slightest sort—but such slight *variae lectiones* are all one can expect to find in a text so well distributed and popular. There is cited below the "exempio" of the Beaver from the chapter on Peace (XI).[23] It will speedily be seen that the first three quotations are quite independent of one another and that the first, judging from the style and orthography, was apparently based on a manuscript of considerably earlier date than 1471.[24]

E puose apropiare la uirtu de la paxe alo chastorno che una bestia che sa per natura perche li chazadori lo ua chazando zoe per li suo parechi che sono da zerte medesine si che lo uien a tanto che lo non possa fuzere e lo si li prende conli denti e tiraselli fuora del chorpo: e lasali chazere in terra a zoe che li chazadori li abiano e lasino andare lui a zoe che lo possa uiuere in paxe. (1)

Et puossi apropriar la pace al castoreo il quale intende per natura perche i cacciatori il uanno cacciando & persequendo zoe per hauer li suoi coioni iquali son boni ad certe medecine: Et uedendo esser persequitato & che non possi scampare se gli caua cum gli denti & zetali in terra & lassali stare accio che li cacciatori l'habbiano: Et chel possa doppo uiuere in pace. (2)

Et puose apropriare la pace al Castorio che e uno animale che sa per natura:

[22] See my review of Oates's catalogue in *PBSA*, XLIX (1955), 82-84. As I am kindly informed by M. Jacques Guignard, Conservateur à la Bibliothèque Nationale, the copy at Paris is also assigned by them to the press of Eucharius Silber. A third copy is found at Torino (see note 7 above).

[23] Although the numbering of the chapters varies in the several editions, that number found in the Library of Congress edition (based on no. 39) has always been used in order to simplify the location of the excerpt.

[24] Since many of the arguments here presented are based on misprints, misread contractions, irregular punctuation, broken characters, etc., the texts are printed as they appear in the volumes without correction or emendation. Occasionally when a particularly obscure or impossible reading needs emphasizing, a "*sic*" has been added. It is, of course, largely on the recurrence of errors that the opinions here set forth are based, so that it is of prime importance that these be preserved in the passages cited.

per che li cazadori lo ua perseguendo cioe per li suo testicoli: p*er* che sono medicinali a certe infirmitade: si che quando lo e perseguito e uede che no*n* possa piu sca*m*pare: lo se piglia li parechi cu*m* li denti e taiaseli uia a cio che li cazadori li habia: e che ello possa scampare uia e uiuere i*n* pace. (2 *bis*)

The remaining editions are, however, closely related to 2 *bis*—but with a few significant variants. In place of the first "testicoli," one finds "coglioni" in 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 24, and 32, while "testicoli" occurs in 10, 11, 30, 39, 59, A, B, C, E, F, G, and H. Only 11 has "li parechi" as 2 *bis* (E and H simply have "gli"); editions 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 24, and 32 have "coglioni", while "testiculi" is reported by 10, 30, 39, 59, A, B, C, F, and G.[25]

In the well-known "keenings" over the bier of Alexander ("Tristeza"—chapter X), this saying is recorded:[26]

e dal fino dise chi uedea Alexandro temea de lui e mo quelli chel uede no*n* nano [*sic*] tema. (1)

Dalphino disse quegli che non uedeuano Alexa*n*dro haueuano paura d*e* lui: Et hora quelli chel uede*n*o nol timeno niente. (2)

Delfino dice: queli che non uideano Alexandro haueano paura de lui E hora queli che lo uedeno no*n* lo temeno niente. (2 *bis*)

Again 1 is outside the tradition of the other printings, but 2 is reasonably close to 2 *bis*. However, only 10 and 11 have the text precisely as in 2 *bis*; all the others differ in one material point.[27]

Now it happens that in 2 *bis* the last line on signature [b8] verso contains the words: "hora queli . . . niente." When the second 1474 Beretin Convento edition (3) was printed, this line (except "hora" which had been absorbed into the penultimate

[25] This is one of the relatively few instances where editions 30, 39, and 59 depart from the "Ripoli tradition." The shifting from one word to another may here be attributed to the desire to find an expression "meno indecente" rather than to any dialectal tendency.

[26] In the *editio princeps*, this saying is found at the end of the quote attributed to "Barbaricon," not as a saw attached to a philosopher named Delfino.

[27] In the example of the Beaver, edition 11 has the exact same text as no. 2 *bis*, while no. 10 shows a small emendation. This proves that no. 11 could not have been set from no. 10.

line) was omitted[28] and the text now read: "Delfino dice: queli che n*o*n uideano Alexandro haueano paura di lui e hora || Prisia*n*o dice . . ." Although this made incomplete sense, this text was repeated by 4, 6, and 32. The Rome edition of 1484 (no. 24) sought to correct this awkward text by ending the sentence very simply at "de lui"; with this A and B concurred.[29] The first Ripoli printing (9),[30] sensing an omission, emended the passage to read: "Delfino dice. Quegli che n*o*n uedeano alexandro haueuano paura di lui: & hora quegli che lo ueggono n*o*n ha*n*no paura. Prisiano . . ." This is also the text of 7, 8, 30, 39, and 59.

From these two examples a pattern begins to emerge which resolves itself into the stemma given below for the earliest editions. Certain relationships still remain to be justified in individual analyses.

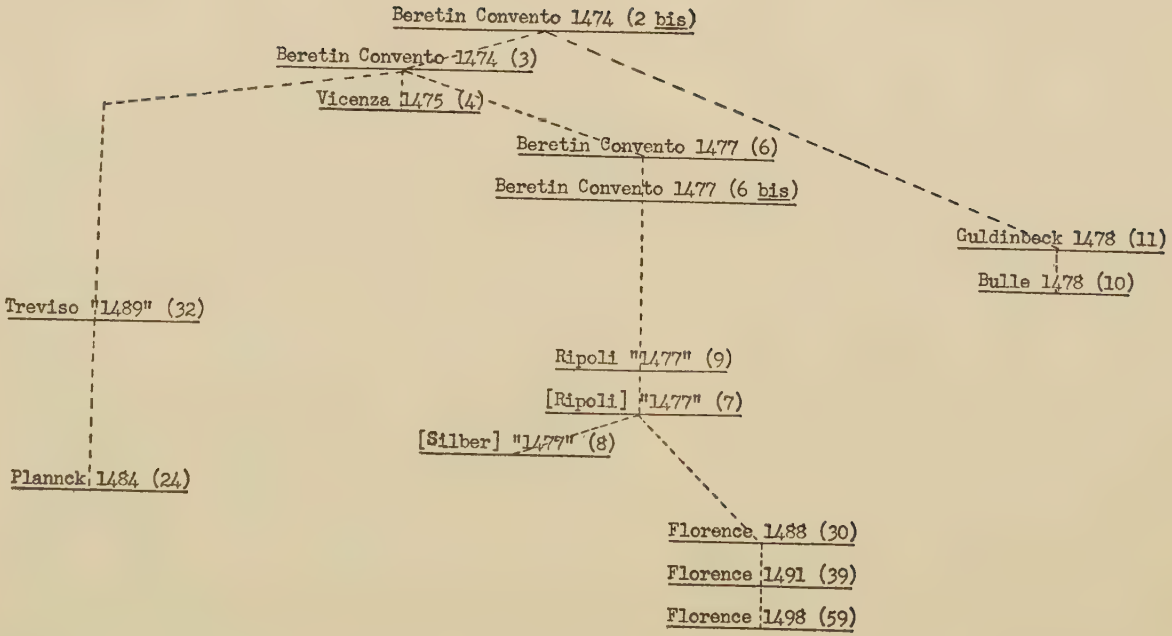
IV

We may next examine the two Roman printings that derive directly from the first Beretin Convento edition. That this printing (2 *bis*) was the direct ancestor of these two has already been suggested by the examples previously cited and will be further demonstrated in instances yet to be examined. The problem that

[28] The reason for the omission of this line is plainly evident and most curious. In edition 2 *bis*, we find that on signature [b8^{v}] the compositor forgot to leave a blank line between the end of a paragraph and the heading for the next (reading "Capitulo viiii de la tristeza" in error for "Exempio"). When edition 3 was composed, the printer inserted the blank line where needed. This, of course, left him with an extra line for that page. We shall never know whether he intended to carry this line over to the next page and then forgot about doing so, or whether he simply concluded that no one would note the difference; why, then, should he bother to squeeze an extra line into a page which he could so easily follow line for line at little trouble and no complication!

[29] Since edition 24 differs from no. 8, it is clear that the Roman editions are not directly related. In editions C, F, and G, the text is reduced to: "Vn' altro disse. Quelli, che non vedeuano Alessandro, haueuano paura di lui." The philosophers are not identified in these texts. Possibly because the saying was so obviously corrupt, it was omitted by editions E and H. Edition D prints: "Dalfino dice: Quegli che non vedeano Alessandro, aveano tema di lui; ora quegli che'l veggono, nol temono niente."

[30] For the order of the Ripoli editions, see below.


Beretin Convento 1474 (2 bis)
Beretin Convento 1474 (3)
Vicenza 1475 (4)
Beretin Convento 1477 (6)
Beretin Convento 1477 (6 bis)
Guldinbeck 1478 (11)
Bulle 1478 (10)
Treviso "1489" (32)
Ripoli "1477" (9)
[Ripoli] "1477" (7)
[Silber] "1479" (8)
Plannck 1484 (24)
Florence 1488 (30)
Florence 1491 (39)
Florence 1498 (59)

now remains to be solved is to determine how the Guldinbeck and Bulle texts relate to each other.

A number of passages (only one need be cited here) prove that the two printings are indeed related and have not come separately from the Venetian edition. In the "exempio" on Ira (Chapter XII), one finds in edition 2 *bis*: "Sancto Gregorio dice tre remedii se fano contra lirato *etc.*" Both Roman editions here have the same misprint;[31] thus Guldinbeck has: "santo Gregorio tre dice remedii se fano co*n*tra lirato *etc.*" This was also the text as printed by Bulle, though the Morgan copy has been corrected by manuscript emendation. Clearly, both editions could not have made the same slip at this place quite independently.

Since these editions reveal that they are related, we must now inquire into the nature of this relationship. Fortunately, this too can be settled with certainty.[32] In the section on Superbia (Chapter XXXVI), the Venetian prototype has: "Job dice se la superbia andase fina ale nuole e tocase el cielo: ala fine retorna in niuula." With this statement Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck agrees, but Johann Bulle concludes his text with the words: ". . . e ala fine retorna in uilamento."[33] It is apparent that the compositor of the Bulle edition either misunderstood his "Vorlage" or wished to improve on it, and thus substituted his own wording.

[31] It would be an impossible coincidence to suppose that both editions, set independently from the same Venetian edition, could make the same slip at this place.

[32] One may here recall the example, cited above, from the account of the Beaver where only edition 11 follows no. 2 *bis* in having "li parechi" and edition 10 prints "li testiculi."

[33] Here the editions fall into a number of distinct groups. The first two editions, as usual, stand completely outside the orderly arrangements of the groups. Edition 1 has: "Job dise se la soperbia a*n*dasse ale nole el so chore tochase lo zielo ale fin torna in negota." Number 2 prints: "Job dice. se la sup*e*rbia montasse fino ale nuuole & toccasse il cielo: a la fine tornerebbe i*n* nie*n*te." Editions 3, 4, 6, 24, 32, A-D, and F-G also follow the order: nuvole - cielo - nuvola; the saying is wanting in E and H. Nos. 24, 32, A-C, and F-G print "sopra le nuole." The first Ripoli edition (9) offers: "Job dice se la superbia andassi infino al cielo & toccassi le nuuole alla fine ritornasi in nuuola." With this order, numbers 7, 8, 30, 39, and 59 agree, though for "ritornasi" all the others print "si ritorna." Editions 30, 39, and 59 offer the further variant reading "la mia superbia." Edition D has: "Giobbe dice: Se la superbia andasse infino a' nugoli, e toccasse il cielo, alla fine tornerebbe in terra" with the variants "neente *or* incotta" for the last word.

The Guldinbeck printing is therefore certainly the earlier, for one could hardly believe that a compositor would accidentally return to the original reading when he had another, equally suitable, variant before him.[34] This makes it apparent that the Guldinbeck edition could not have been set from the Bulle text.[35] Since, however, we have seen that the two are related, we must conclude that Bulle's compositor worked directly from the Guldinbeck edition.

V

From the example of the philosophers at the bier of Alexander, we learned in what manner the second 1474 Beretin Convento edition differed from the first; also that editions 4, 6, and 32 omit the identical words wanting in no. 3. Other instances may be cited to prove that the texts are descended from the same original.

Under "Humilita" (Chapter XXXV), the *Fiore* lists four virtues stemming from humility. The last of these is described by edition 2 *bis* as: "La quarta sie gratificatio*n*e. cioe a meritar e recognoser lo seruitio che se receue."[36] The second 1474 edition put out by the Beretin Convento press (3) inserts the word "grato" between "recognoser" and "lo seruitio." This insertion

[34] In the *exempio* of Largato given under the chapter on "Joy" (IX), edition 2 *bis* describes the result of the autopsy in these words: "Et facendo aprire per mezo el corpo: Trouaro || [folio b7] no scrito *in* lo suo cuore: dolce amor mio Iesu cristo." Edition 10 prints: "e facendo aprire per mezo el corpo trouarono scritto || in lo suo cuore. dolce amor mio Iesu cristo" while no. 11 has: "et face*n*do aprire p*er* mezo el corpo. Trauaro [*sic*] no scrito || in lo suo cuore. dolce amor mio Iesu cristo." Now it is perfectly evident how Guldinbeck might have arrived at his text because of the division of the words and the capitalization in edition 2 *bis*, but if he was setting up his text from Bulle's edition it is difficult to see how he arrived at his text and the use of upper case "T."

[35] In the example at the tomb of Alexander, editions 2 *bis* and 11 both name the philosopher as "Barbalico" where number 10 has "Barcalico." If edition 11 was set from 10, one would expect to find the same name in both editions.

[36] The first two editions again differ sharply from the standard text. No. 1 has: "e la quarta sie la gratificazione che e acognoscere e ameritar li seruisi che lie fato." Edition 2 offers: "La qui*n*ta [4 is omitted] sie gratitudine cioe a cognoscer & re-mu*n*erar altri d*e*' beneficii receputi."

is found only in the Vicenza (4), Treviso (32),[37] and the two Milanese editions (A and B) of our list. The Ripoli editions and the texts dependent on them (7, 8, 9, 30, 39, and 59) here offer: "La quarta e gratificatione cioe a meritare & ricognoscere el seruigio e beneficio che si riceue."[38]

The *Fiore di virtù*, under "Constantia" (Chapter XXXI), quite properly provides a story concerning King Constantine; here the King, as related in 2 *bis*, asks his people to await the verdict of their gods which he will go to seek ("*in questo* mezo io andare a parlare ali nostri dei").[39] Instead of the first person singular future (*andaro* = modern *andrò*) as required by the sense, 2 *bis* misprints the infinitive (*andare*). Editions 3 and 4 perpetuate this slip, and this also appears in Guldinbeck's text (11). Johann Bulle (10) corrected the infinitive (or rather, miscorrected it into "*en*daro"), while the Treviso (32), Rome (24), and Milanese (A & B) editions have "andaro." The 1477 Beretin Convento printing (6), noticing the grammatical slip in its *Vorlage*, altered the text into reading: "*in questo* mezo io uoglio andare a parlare a li nostri dei." This revision was accepted by all texts of the Ripoli tradition (7, 8, 9, 30, 39, and 59).[40]

The Treviso *Fiore di virtù* (32)[41] has its own problem of dating. The colophon states that the book was printed by Michael Manzolus: "Nel anno MCCCCLXXXViiii a di xv di Ienaro. Principe di Viniegia Lo inclyto & magnanimo huomo Ioanni Mozenico." Despite the presence of these precise and comfort-

[37] The word "grato" is also found in the dependent edition no. 24 (on which, see below) but is omitted by nos. 6, 10, and 11. For "gratitude," editions A and B have "significatio*ne*;" these two texts also insert "grato."

[38] Edition 9, actually—as we shall see—the earliest of the Ripoli texts, here observes a slightly different arrangement: "La quarta e gratificatione cioe a meritare e ricognoscere el benefitio & seruigio che si riceue."

[39] Edition 1 has: "& io in questo mezo andaro: e parlaro co*n* li nostri dei." The second edition reads: "& in questo mezo io parlero ali nostri dei."

[40] Editions 7, 8, and 9 have "io uoglio andare & parlare," while nos. 30, 39, and 59 have "io uoglio andare a parlare."

[41] A full description of this edition is given by Reichling under number 515 from the Naples copy, though he failed to realize that the date as given in the book was impossible.

ing particulars, it is absolutely certain that the book, contrary to the position it occupies in Mr. Rosenwald's list and in the Italian official *Indice* (no. 3951), could not have been printed on 15 January 1489, for on that date the Doge of Venice was Agostino Barbarigo.[42] Since Giovanni Mocenigo was Doge from 18 May 1478 to 4 November 1485, the only possible way to account for the date of the colophon is that an extra "X" found its way into it. Consequently, this Manzolus edition can be dated with some certainty as having been printed on 15 January 1479.[43]

The Treviso volume, then, is later than the Vicenza one, with its printed date of 1475, and it now becomes necessary to discover whether the Treviso text was set from this edition or whether they both descended independently from their common ancestor (edition no. 3). Though the Vicenza edition bears the earlier date, we need not rely solely on this to prove that it could not derive from the Treviso *Fiore*. Through the frequent error of haplography, Manzolus prints in the chapter on "Vanagloria" (XXX):

Sancto Augustino dice: non iudicar mai alchuno per el dire de le parole: ma per el far de le opere: perche la magior parte de le persone: sono uane & piene de parole: ma per li facti: non porai falire.

The other fifteenth-century editions of our list (with one exception)[44] all attribute this saying to Seneca, while attaching to St. Augustine the proverb: "Sancto Augustin dice: adir bene: e far

[42] Succeeding to the rule of Giovanni Mocenigo was Marco Barbarigo, who was elected Doge on 19 November 1485 and died 14 August 1486. He was succeeded by his brother Agostino (ruled 30 August 1486-20 September 1501), this being the only example in Venetian history where a Doge was immediately followed by another member of the same family. Compare A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* (Milan, 1952), p. 347, and the *Enciclopedia italiana* (Rome, 1929-1939), VI, 131.

[43] It seems unlikely that the wrong date can be accounted for by the supposition that the "V" was accidentally added. The last known book produced by Manzolus in Treviso is dated 27 March 1482 (BMC VI:886), so that it is unlikely that the *Fiore* was completed after an interval of almost two years (15 January 1484).

[44] The significance of edition 32 is stressed by the fact that it is not only the source for the other Treviso editions but also for nos. 24, A-C, and F-G, at least for some readings (cf. note 33). Here these editions have the text as in no. 32.

male: non e altro che inganar si insteso" (edition 3). If the Vicenza edition had developed from Manzolus's, one would expect to find the same "omissio ex homoeoteleuto" (from "Sancto Augustin *dice*" to "Seneca *dice*") therein.

It can also be proved, however, that the text of the Treviso edition goes straight back to the Venetian source, and not through the intervention of the Vicenza printing. There are omissions and errors which clearly establish this. In the study of "Prudentia" (Chapter XIX), the Venetian prototype preserves two sayings:[45]

anchora dice: alo seruo sauio: serui liberalme*n*te: a*n*chora dice i*n* la tua zoue*n*tu i*m*para scie*n*tia e dotrina e mai no [*sic*] manchare fine ali cauelli canuti:

The Vicenza *Fiore* omits the first proverb, but it is present in the Treviso edition. So also in the example of the Basilisk ("Crudelitade," Chapter XIV), who scorches everything "per lo suo crudelissimo fiado: che uiene fuora del suo uenenoso corpo," the Vicenza text differs from its contemporaries. There the land is laid waste simply "per lo suo uene*n*oso corpo." In this case, it is clear that the eye of the compositor of the Vicenza edition traveled from the first "suo" to the second, and we thus have another omission as the result of identical readings. In both instances, the Treviso *Fiore di virtù* gives the full text, thus providing adequate proof for the fact that it is directly descended from the second Beretin Convento edition of the year 1474.[46]

[45] Two curious variants may here be noted. Edition 1 reads: "e anchora el scriuano sauio scriue liberame*n*te," and Edition D has: "Ancora: Il servo savio sappia servire liberamente."

[46] A broken piece of type here offers interesting evidence. In the story under Misericordia (XIII), the pirate says to Alexander (edition 3): "Et tu per che uai cum gran || de multitudine de gente: sei chiamato signore:". The second "i" in "multitudine" is here badly broken and the character looks very much like a colon. In the Vicenza edition (4) the text reads: "Et tu || per che uai cum gran de multitudine: ne de gente: sei || chiamato signore:". It is clear what happened in this case. The compositor of 4, having edition 3 before him, set "gran de multitudine" due to the line-ending of his prototype. He then picked up again at the colon, but his eye wandered to the broken character rather than to the true colon; hence he printed the otherwise senseless "ne de gente." Edition 32 has "multitudine de gente." Again, under Cruelty

VI

We come now to the problem which was the *fons et origo* of the investigation into the nature of the Ripoli text—namely, from which Beretin Convento edition did the Ripoli series derive? A considerable number of minor variants makes it perfectly certain that editions 7, 8, and 9 were based on no. 6; two examples will suffice to establish this fact.

Under "Ira" (Chapter XII), the first Beretin Convento text (2 *bis*) quotes Saint Augustine to the effect that five conditions make war permissible: "Per la fede: per la iustitia: per hauer pace: per stare in liberta: Et per fugire forza." The 1477 edition (6), on the other hand, numbers these reasons in this fashion: "Prima per la fede. Seconda per la Iustitia. Terza per hauer pace. Quarta per stare *in* liberta. Quinta per fugire forza." These reasons also remain unnumbered in the editions: 1-4, 10-11, 24, 32, A-D and F-G.[47] The Florentine editions together with Silber's text (viz. nos. 7-9, 30, 39, and 59) supply the numeration.[48]

A second, and most instructive, example will be found in the chapter on "Corectione" (XVII). Here are listed the ten scourges which God visited upon the Egyptians (as related in Exodus).[49] Disregarding in this case the first two printings, we

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(XIV), edition 3 has: "La terza si e no*n* uolere perdonare līzurie," while 4 offers: "La terza sie non uolere perdonare luzurie." Clearly the compositor here misread the abbreviation. The other editions agree with no. 32 in having: "... perdonare le iniurie."

[47] This passage is omitted by the shortened versions E and H.

[48] In the story of the wild ass who will drink only clear water ("Abstinentia"—XXXVII), edition 1 has: "& selo ua al fiume e ueda chel sia torbado," while 2 prints: "& sel ua a riuo o a fiume che sia turbido." In 2 *bis*, 3, 4, 10, 11, 24, 32, A, and B, we find "al fiume o ala fontana;" in 6, 7, 8, 9, 30, 39, and 59, one finds "al fiume o ala fonte." In editions C-H, there is simply "al fiume."

[49] The crickets of the seventh scourge appear as "cavalete" in nos. 2 *bis*, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 24, 32, A-C and E-H; in the texts of the Ripoli tradition (7, 8, 9, 30, 39, and 59) as well as in edition D the name is "grilli." This appears to be the word preferred by the Florentines. We may recall that to this very day the *Festa del Grillo* is celebrated in Florence on Ascension Day. The *editio princeps* has "locuste."

may note that the first Beretin Convento edition offers for the eighth scourge: "La otaua fo mortalita de tuti li primogeniti de egito."[50] Due to misnumbering, this scourge becomes "La nona" in edition no. 3, and with this the Vicenza text (4) agrees. The next Beretin Convento printing (6) partly corrects the error, and the text now appears as: "La ottaua mortalita de tutti li primogeniti de egipto."[51] The texts of the Ripoli tradition (nos. 7-9) similarly omit the copulative verb ("fo") at this place, though they have it in the other scourges where needed. Thus we may be certain that editions 7-9 are related. The first and third of these are, despite the evidence afforded by the verse colophon (here printed as prose) which claims the edition for the Beretin Convento, the products of the Florentine press established in the nunnery "Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli" in the Via della Scala. Edition no. 8, as was stated above, was printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber, though the colophon (in verse form) also proclaims the book as from the Venetian press.[52]

That neither of the Ripoli editions could have been copied from Silber is proved by a number of omissions peculiar to this faulty text. In the chapter on Liberality (XV) alone, there are two omissions "ob homoeoteleuton." One of the sayings proper to this chapter is given by edition no. 6 as: "Anchora dice: se tu

[50] This is also the reading in nos. 10, 11, 24, 32, E, G, and H.

[51] In edition 1, one reads: "e la nona si fo mortalita de tuti li primigieniti de egypto." In no. 2, it is: "La septima si fu mortalita de tutti suoi animali," which appears as scourge six in edition D. Editions A-C and F have: "la octaua fu la mortalita de tutti gli primogeniti di egypto."

[52] In 1515, Marcello Silber, the son of Eucharius Silber (alias Frank) of Würzburg, also put out an edition of the *Fiore di virtù*. The colophon there reads:

Delle virtù io son chiamato el Fiore,
E son composto a darti documento.
Le feste almen leggemi per amore;
Se tu il fai ti troverai contento.
Nel mille cinquecento del Signore,
E quindici anni, se io ben ramento,
Fu rinovato in la città di Roma,
La qual del mondo tiene la corona.

Compare Fernanda Ascarelli, *La tipografia cinquecentina italiana* (Florence, 1953), pp. 62-63, and edition D, p. 11.

domandi adaltri domanda cosa iusta: p*er* che e pacia a doma*n*dar cosa che se posa negar cum rasone." Silber omits "domandi adaltri," though this is present in the Ripoli editions.[53] The anecdote anent King Antigonus further illustrates this point; it reads in the Beretin Convento (6) text:[54]

lo contrario de questo fece lo Re Antigono: lo quale per trouar casone de non fare lo seruitio che iera doma*n*dato: che sia*n*doli doma*n*data una cosa picola: respose che no*n* se co*n*uenia alui de dar*e* una picola cosa: sia*n*do Re: Et siandoli poi domandata una gran cosa Respose: non se conuiene ati domandare: ni receuere cosi gran cosa.

The Silber printing skips, obviously the result of an eye slip, everything between the first "no*n* se" and "conuiene." Both Ripoli editions have the text substantially as in the Venetian prototype; thus it is as certain as bibliographical truth can be that the Silber edition is the last of the three.[55]

Equally, as shown in the chart, there can be no doubt that edition no. 9 is earlier than no. 7. In chapter XVIII ("De le losenge"), all Beretin Convento editions include a saying attrib-

[53] All the other editions have the full text. This again suggests that Stephan Plannck (24) did not utilize the printing of the text by Silber.

[54] The edition by Stephan Plannck does not have the omission. Edition C (similarly F and G) prints: "Il contrario fece il Rè Antigono, ilquale per ritrouare cagione di non fare il seruigio, che li era dimandato à quello, che li domandaua vna gran cosa, rispose. Non conuiene à te dimandare questa cosa così grande." Editions E and H have: "Il contrario fece il Re Antigono, il quale per trovar cagione di non far il servigio a quello, che gli dimandava una gran cosa, rispose: Non conviene a te dimandare, nè ricevere cosa così grande."

[55] According to BMC IV: xiv and 103, the earliest book printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome bears the date 20 May 1480. The first appearance of his type 2:88 R², with which the *Fiore di virtù* is printed, is set as late 1484, and this edition may safely be assigned to this period. For the Ripoli editions, a curious bibliographical point may be noted. It was normal for a printer, in his reprints, to reduce the number of printed pages and thus lessen his paper costs. In this case, however, the earlier edition (9) is printed on 46 leaves and in double columns, while the reprint (7) is in single columns and occupies 58 leaves. The colophons of editions 2 *bis*, 3, 6, 6 *bis*, 7, 8, and 9 (no matter where these were printed) all state that the book was produced in Venice, the last line reading: "Grande ornamento de lalma Venesia." In editions 30, 39, and 59, the last line points to "Firenze bella gratiosa & degna." For the same line, no. 4 has: "Vincenza dico ni la cita benigna." Edition B here prints: "Milano bello grarioso [*sic*] e degno." See also note 52.

uted to Hermes; it may be found just before that by Varro at the end of the first "Exempio." In edition 9 the saying reads (comparable to the text in no. 6): "Hermes dice: lo cane ama losso infino che ui truoua da piluchare: e le pechie amano e [*sic*] fiori infinche sono begli." In similar form, the saying is also given to Hermes by editions 1-4, 10-11, 24, 32, and D; nos. A-C and E-H assign it to Esopo. However, the saying is omitted by nos. 7, 8, and the later Florentine printings (30, 39, and 59).

In "Lusuria" (Chapter XL), the gradual corruption of the text becomes plain. The Beretin Convento edition (no. 6) cites the fourth variety of Lust as: "Lo quarto sie īcesto [*sic*]: che e qua*n*do sono pare*n*ti." The compositor for edition 9 misread the abbreviation[56] and produced the reading: "Lo quarto sie questo: che e quando sono pare*n*ti." To the next compositor, this must have seemed to be merely a circumlocution, for he cut the text to: "Lo quarto sie: quando sono parenti." This, then, is the reading of editions 7 and 8.[57]

Finally,[58] under "Castita" (Chapter XXXIX), the unexpected insertion of a phrase shows the reverse process. Edition no. 6 gives the fourth danger to be avoided by the chaste as: "La quarta sie guardarsi da le rufiane: e da p*er*sone che co*n*forti de lusuriare." With this text, edition 9 more or less conforms.[59] However, the compositor who set edition 7 must have read the ampersand and the following "da" twice, for the second Ripoli

[56] Since we do not have the reading of edition 6 *bis*, it is not certain whether the misreading is the fault of the compositor of edition 9 or of its predecessor. In no. 1, we find: "E la terza sie inzesto chie quando uno pare*n*te se zonze co*n* la pare*n*te," which is closely paralleled by no. 2: "La terza sie incesto zoe qua*n*do uno parente si co*n*iu*n*ge con una sua pare*n*te." Edition D (and H) print: "e la seconda è detta incesto, e questo è usando con propria parente." The full text of the first Beretin Convento edition is: "Lo quarto si e incesto: che e quando sono parenti."

[57] It is also the reading of editions 30, 39, and 59.

[58] See also note 33, where 7 and 8 agree in having "si ritorna" and only 9 has "ritornasi." If 9 were the latest, one would expect the subsequent editions (30, 39, and 59) also to have "ritornasi" but they agree with nos. 7 and 8.

[59] "La quarta sie guardarsi dalle ruffiane & da persone che confortino di luzuria."

edition has: "La quarta si e guardarsi dalle ruffiane & etiam dio dalle persone che confortino di Luxuria."[60] This text is also found in the edition put out by Eucharius Silber but not elsewhere outside the "Ripoli group," and it is therefore clear that Silber must have prepared his *Fiore di virtù* from edition no. 7.[61] From the arguments that we have examined above, there is every reason to accept as correct the *stemma* as given.

VII

It is also possible to date many of the Ripoli editions with full confidence, since the day-book of the press has come down to us.[62] Two editions of the *Fiore di virtù* are mentioned there. The earlier (Nesi LXXIX) was listed as being for sale on 2 January 1483 (f. 104 of the manuscript).[63] A further entry (f. 117) reads: "Ricordo che a di 25 dagosto 1483 incominciamo 300 fior di virtu." This is apparently that edition concerning which the British Museum Catalogue's comment has already been quoted; it is entered as Nesi LXXXV.[64] Since number 9 of Mr. Rosenwald's enumeration has been proved to be the earlier, this must now be dated as having been printed "before 2 January 1483." The later printing, represented by the British Museum copy IA. 27030, should bear the date "23 September 1483."

We are now in a position to rearrange the earliest editions here

[60] Editions 30, 39, and 59 also have the insertion. However, of all the editions descended from 2 *bis*, only 7-9 and G-H have "luzuria," the remainder (including the three Florentine editions, otherwise belonging to the Ripoli tradition) have "lusuriare."

[61] As we have seen, editions 7 and 8 are related. Since it has been shown that no. 7 could not have been set from no. 8, it follows that the contrary must be true.

[62] This day-book has been discussed and excerpted by: Vincenzio Fineschi, *Notizie storiche sopra la stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, 1781); Pietro Bologna, *La stamperia fiorentina del Monastero di S. Jacopo di Ripoli e le sue edizioni* (Turin, 1893); and Emilia Nesi, *Il diario della stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, 1903).

[63] According to Nesi (p. 11), the manuscript is: Magliabechiana $\frac{6}{x - 143^*}$.

[64] Nesi, p. 96: "Ricordo che a di 23 di detto [Settembre] si fornirono di stampare 300 fiori di virtu."

under discussion in accordance with those dates and lines of descent which we have established. The new list would be:[65]

New no.	*Rosenwald no.*	*Imprint*	*Reference*
I	1	[Venice: Adam of Ambergau, 1471]	Indice 3927
II	2	Venice: [Nicolas Jenson], 29 April 1474	H 7091
III	[2 *bis*]	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1474	R [not H] 7098
IV	3	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1474	H 7098
V	4	Vicenza: [Achates], 1475	H 7099
VI	6	Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 23 Oct. 1477	R [not H] 7100
VII	[6 *bis*]	(?) Venice: Nel Beretin Convento, 1477 (?)	H 7100
VIII	11	[Rome: Guldinbeck, 1478]	BMC IV:70
IX	10	[Rome: Bulle, 1478]	H 7092
X	32	Treviso: Manzolus, 15 January "1479"[66]	R 515
XI	9	Florence: Ripoli Press, [b. 2 Jan. 1483]	Pell 4802
XII	7	[Florence: Ripoli Press, 23 Sept. 1483]	BMC VI: 621
XIII	8	[Rome: Silber, after 23 Sept. 1483]	Pell 4804

In conclusion, some interesting deductions and general observations may be set forth. We can, first of all, correct an observation in the British Museum's incunabula catalogue (V:238) under the entry for the press "Nel Beretin Convento della Ca Grande"; here it is stated that "the entire known output of this press appears to be catalogued below and includes one book dated 1474, two dated 1477, and one dated 1478." This is not, however, a complete list, since the very first edition of the *Fiore di virtù* by this press, and possibly a second printing of the year 1477, are not here recorded. There is also no mention of the variant issue of that 1477 edition which is described by the catalogue.

[65] The present re-arrangement of the numbers is not meant to reflect any discredit upon the great usefulness of Mr. Rosenwald's list. He relied, of course, upon the records of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, modifying these to suit his purposes. The results of my own investigation are due to research extending over many years and in many different libraries; they are useful chiefly in supplementing Mr. Rosenwald's excellent list, so far as bibliographical details are concerned.

[66] Since the Ripoli editions are no longer assignable to 1477, a number of editions in Mr. Rosenwald's list now intervene between my numbers X and XI. There are seven such editions all dated 1480-1482 (Rosenwald nos. 12-19; no. 15 is a French text, and thus lies outside the scope of this discussion).

This analysis will, almost certainly, provide the bibliophile with some sobering thoughts; he must come to the reluctant conclusion that, for the history of the printed text of the *Fiore di virtù*, the *editio princeps* is quite valueless. Indeed, even the second edition is (relatively speaking) unimportant. An obscure third edition, on the other hand, assumes prime significance as the ancestor of a long line of printed texts, running into the scores of editions. It will give many a bookman, one hopes, pause to reconsider the special significance that we have attached to that "sacred cow"—The First Edition. For here certainly, the importance of the text is totally unrelated to the date of its production. I am equally sure that the case of the *Fiore di virtù* is far from being the sole instance of this perhaps revolutionary concept in the evaluation of early printed books.[67]

It is instructive, too, to note that so prolific a printer as Eucharius Silber neither pirated the text of his Roman predecessors (Johann Bulle and Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck) nor "borrowed" the *Fiore di virtù*, at that very moment on sale in Rome, as printed by his great competitor, Stephan Plannck.[68] How and why, one wonders, did Silber acquire a Florentine imitation of a Venetian edition? The Plannck *Fiore* of 1484 is (presumably) only a reprint of earlier printings by the same press (1481 = Rosenwald no. 16; 1482 = no. 18; and 1483 = no. 20); the evidence at hand suggests that all the Plannck editions descended from the text as printed by Michael Manzolus in Treviso (Rosenwald no. 32).[69] It comes as quite a surprise to discover that Plannck turned to one of the most northerly of Italian presses for his prototype.[70] Why did he not choose one printed

[67] Compare, for example, the present writer's "The Earliest Editions of Juvenal," *Studies in the Renaissance*, II (1955), 84-95.

[68] The Parisian printers of the early sixteenth century had no scruples about stealing each other's texts; see my "The Edition of the *Ditz moraulx des philosophes* Printed at Paris by Michel Le Noir," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1950, 182-185.

[69] See especially notes 33, 37, and 44.

[70] It is possible, of course, that the Bologna edition of 15 August 1480 (Rosenwald no. 13) may be the direct ancestor of the Plannck text and may thus intervene be-

nearer to the Eternal City? If neither printer chose to copy any of the Roman editions available to him, why—one may well ask—did he not make use of any of the numberless manuscripts of the *Fiore di virtù* then in circulation?[71]

After 1491 practically all the editions of this text were illustrated,[72] as befits a book intended (more and more, as the years went on) for the moral guidance of the young and consequently in need of something to hold the children's flagging attention. These woodcuts, too, were used over and over again; they were copied and even recopied. Further, one can see the blocks passing from the hands of one printer into those of another. The illustrations, too, have an enlightening story to tell—but an investigation of the *Fiore di virtù* along these lines we must necessarily leave to the art historian.

For us, the examination of the texts in the printed volumes of the *Fiore di virtù* has underlined once again the basic principle that a student of literature cannot content himself with examining merely the earliest manuscript or the first printed edition of any given text. Every manuscript and each edition may have its own importance in the history of the transmission, growth, and metamorphosis of a literary artifact; all such literary documents must, therefore, be minutely and properly evaluated by those scholars competent to perform this service.

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tween the two Treviso editions (15 January 1479 and 14 April 1480) and the first Plannck printing. This problem still needs to be investigated.

[71] The number of manuscripts of the *Fiore di virtù* still extant is legion and must have been even greater in the fifteenth century. For the Florentine libraries alone, T. Casini lists thirty-eight such volumes ("Appunti sul Fiore di virtù," *Rivista critica della letteratura italiana,* III [1886], 154-159).

[72] The edition printed in Florence in 1491 (Rosenwald no. 39) is the first North Italian one that was fully illustrated. For a full list of the other early illustrated editions, cf. Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (New York, 1941), I, 477-483, nos. 2720-2758 plus five unnumbered entries.

Bibliographical Notes

Daniel Bayley's "The American Harmony": A Bibliographical Study

The year 1770 marks the beginning of a new era in American music. At this time, musical independence from Great Britain was declared (in effect) with the publication of William Billings' celebrated *The New-England Psalm-Singer,* the first collection of sacred music wholly composed by an American. Previously, English music had been the staple fare of the colonists. Before 1770, the only American composer whose works are known to have appeared in print was James Lyon of Philadelphia, but after 1770, the growth of an indigenous psalmody progressed with remarkable rapidity. Billings was soon joined by a number of other talented New Englanders, and within less than two decades, a large and universally accepted body of religious song, distinctively American in idiom, had been created.

The music produced by this first school of American composers represents a unique blending of elements from an aural tradition familiar to all New Englanders of the time and of then archaic theoretical principles derived for the most part from the writings of William Tans'ur (1699?-1783), an English composer, theoretician, and tune book compiler. The theoretical principles inherent both in Tans'ur's didactic writings and in the music to be found in his published collections may fairly be said to have been from one to two hundred years behind the musical times, to correspond more closely in harmonic technique, for example, with that to be found in the sacred music of Thomas Stoltzer (c. 1480-1516), Ludwig Senfl (c. 1492-c. 1555), or Johann Walther (1496-1570), rather than with that of J. S. Bach, with whom Tans'ur was contemporary. However, Tans'ur was by no means behind the times so far as England was concerned. Thus, although it is likely that Americans had access to other English musical treatises, particularly those dealing with sacred music, they could have learned nothing from these not to be found in Tans'ur.

The most popular of Tans'ur's many works, both in England and in America, was *The Royal Melody Compleat, or New Harmony of Sion* (London, 1755; third edition, 1764-65-66), and it was through this work that a now obscure English psalmodist and music teacher exerted a powerful influence upon our early sacred music. Tans'ur was in actuality Billings' mentor in the art of composition (despite Billings' often quoted assertion that he did not think himself confined to any rules laid down "by any that went before me"), as is clearly evident from a comparison of the theoretical introduction in Tans'ur's *Royal Melody* with that in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. Billings' introduction is in fact a condensation, often using the exact words, of the "new and correct introduction to the grounds of musick, rudimental, practical and technical" in the *Royal Melody*.

The force of Tans'ur's influence upon American musical development was considerably strengthened beginning in 1764, when Daniel Bayley (1725?-1799) of Newburyport published a tune book entitled *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music*. This rather strange work contained, in addition to a selection of traditional psalm tunes, the musical instructions of the *Royal Melody* as well as those of Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston, 1721). Bayley took the liberty of re-editing both Tans'ur's and Walter's text—all musical examples and text pertaining thereto were eliminated—not only on account of typographical exigencies but in order to modernize their already archaic diction. The work went through at least eight editions, the last appearing in 1768.

In 1767, however, Tans'ur's *Royal Melody* in essentially complete form, both as to theoretical introduction and music, was published at Boston. The editor of the Boston edition was probably Bayley, who deleted some materials from the English edition and added others borrowed from another popular English tune book of the day, Aaron Williams' (1731-1776) *Universal Psalmodist*. Still more tunes from Williams found their way into later printings of the American *Royal Melody*. Eventually, Bayley brought out a complete *Universal Psalmodist*, which also differed from its English prototype in many respects; in fact, Bayley inserted at least one American composition, "An Anthem Taken from Ps. 150th," by James Lyon, which appears on pages 60-61. Where or how Bayley obtained this anthem, which does not appear in Lyon's *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1764), remains a matter of conjecture. It is not at all impossible that

Bayley and Lyon were in some manner associated with each other. The American *Universal Psalmodist* (which Bayley called *The American Harmony, or Universal Psalmodist*) did not have much of an independent existence; it was almost immediately combined with the *Royal Melody* to form a new tune book in two parts, called "volumes." For later editions of this originally nameless amalgamation, Bayley adopted the general title *The American Harmony*, at first used only in connection with the *Universal Psalmodist*. In several stages, the Williams tunes included in early editions of the *Royal Melody* were removed and new ones, taken from a different Tans'ur compilation, substituted in their places. In this manner, two totally unrelated books achieved a joint printing history in America, leaving behind them a tangled skein of editions which has ever since eluded orderly bibliographical classification.

It will be noted that the imprints of four editions of the *Royal Melody* (see Eds. A, B, D, and E below) give William M'Alpine of Boston as printer. Bayley's name appears only as that of a bookseller. It would seem that M'Alpine did indeed print the first two editions, after which he sold the plates and evidently some extra sheets to Bayley, together with his printing press.[1] The last editions bearing M'Alpine's imprint (Eds. D and E) were actually published by Bayley, who utilized some of the old sheets purchased from M'Alpine. In any event, it seems quite probable that Bayley was the actual editor of all of these editions.

The complexity of the M'Alpine-Bayley-Tans'ur-Williams situation is quite typical of bibliographical problems encountered in dealing with many eighteenth-century American tune books, and this study represents a tentative solution to only one of a number of puzzles in need of similarly detailed investigation. The authors are indebted to the Library of Congress, the Clements Library of the University of Michigan, the American Antiquarian Society, and many others, through whose courtesy they have been enabled to study at least one copy of each located edition described below. Such invaluable guides through the wilderness of eighteenth-century American imprints as Evans and Sabin have been helpful, but in this rather specialized field they have by no means proved infallible.

[1] On November 19, 1768, M'Alpine inserted an advertisement in the Boston *Evening Post* to the effect that he was disposing "of his stock under the *common* wholesale prices if applied for soon." Shortly after this date, Bayley appears to have taken over his sheets, plates, and printing press. Bayley had been engaged in the publishing business at Newburyport since 1764. It was not until 1769, however, that his imprints carried the phrase "printed *by* Daniel Bayley" rather than "printed *for* Daniel Bayley."

English Editions[2]

Tans'ur's *The Royal Melody Compleat, or New Harmony of Sion* (all American editions except Ed. C utilize the spellings "complete" and "Zion") was first published in London in 1755. In effect, it constituted a thoroughly revised version of an earlier tune book entitled *A Compleat Melody, or Harmony of Sion.* Later editions of the *Royal Melody* are numbered from the 1755 edition, the second appearing in 1760 and the third, the prototype of the American editions, in 1764-65-66.[3] American locations (location symbols are those used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress) of English editions are as follows:

A Compleat Melody		
1st edition	1735	no copies known in U.S.A.
2nd edition	n.d.	no copies known in U.S.A.
3rd edition	1738	no copies known in U.S.A.
4th edition	1738	DLC, ICN
5th edition	1743	MB
The Royal Melody Compleat		
1st edition	1755	CtHT-W, CtY
2nd edition	1760	CtHC, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWA
3rd edition	1764-65-66	CtHT-W, DLC
The Universal Psalmodist		
1st edition	1763	no copies known in U.S.A.
2nd edition	1764	CtHT-W, CtY, ICN
3rd edition	1765	ICN, MH
4th edition	1770	DLC, ICN, NNUT
5th edition	1770	ICN, MB

American Editions[4]

Eleven distinguishable American editions of the *Royal Melody* and of the *Universal Psalmodist* have been located. For convenience of reference,

[2] The writers are indebted to Maurice Frost (author of *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes*, Oxford University Press, 1953) for the data given here regarding unlocated editions of Tans'ur's *A Compleat Melody* and Williams' *Universal Psalmodist.*

[3] The three parts of this edition were published with three separate title-pages, each with a different date.

[4] The Library of Congress follows the practice of listing American editions under

each of these has been assigned a letter from "A" through "K." Editions A-C consist of the *Royal Melody* alone. In Editions D-K, the two works are combined as "Vol. I" and "Vol. II" of a single tune book (the possibility that Vol. II, the *Universal Psalmodist*, may have at first been for sale separately is discussed below under Edition D).

In addition to the eleven located editions, there are four reported editions, none of which seems actually to have been published. (1) Evans 9021 describes an edition to which a tentative date of 1761 is assigned. The entry is obviously fabricated, since it gives Bayley's address as Newburyport, a town which did not come into existence until 1764. (2) Evans 10782 describes an edition of 1767 in which the *Royal Melody* is combined with Bayley's *New and Complete Introduction*. The title as given by Evans is taken verbatim from an advertisement for the two separate works which appears on page 8 of the 1767 edition of Bayley's *Psalm-Singer's Assistant*. (3) Sabin 94333 describes an undated "title-page" at the American Antiquarian Society for a presumed Bayley edition of the *Royal Melody*. The item appears at first glance to be a proofsheet drawn from a crudely engraved plate. However, close examination fails to reveal whether it is in fact a proofsheet or merely a pen and ink drawing. If an engraving, it is certainly not the work of Bayley's regular engraver, John Ward Gilman, who demonstrated a high degree of skill in the execution of the frontispiece for Edition B. Perhaps it is Bayley's own effort, either of pen or stylus. The item was probably produced in December, 1768, shortly before Bayley became the printer as well as the publisher of the *Royal Melody*. (4) Evans 13647 describes a "ninth edition" of the combined work, dated 1774. It is curious that Evans omits mention of Edition K, of which many copies are extant. Perhaps he never saw a copy, or, having taken notes on one, could not believe them later, as Editions J of 1773 and K of 1774 are both called the "eighth edition." What would be more logical than to expect the edition of 1774 to be called the "ninth"? It is, of course, entirely possible that such an edition was published.

Bayley's name in order to clearly distinguish between American and English imprints. Aside from convenience, there are what appear to be excellent reasons for this procedure. The American editions were not literal reprints of the English, and it is very likely that Bayley was responsible for the choice of tunes and the general editorial supervision of not only the editions he himself published, but also those published earlier by W. M'Alpine. A former Library of Congress practice, that of adopting the spelling "Bailey" for the compiler's name, was an error seemingly based on a misspelling found in the imprint of several Bayley titles. Corrected Library of Congress catalog cards are now available.

In the descriptions of known editions which follow, title-pages have been abbreviated. An attempt has been made, however, to indicate certain typographical characteristics, as these in themselves often provide important clues for identifying editions. The reader is hereby warned that the attempt does not go so far as to indicate the relative size of type used, but only the kind of type, together with original capitalization and punctuation.

Edition A, 1767

THE *ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE:* OR THE NEW HARMONY of ZION. . . . The THIRD EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico. . . . BOSTON:* Printed and sold by W. M'ALPINE, almost Mid-way betwixt the Governor's and Dr. *Gardener*'s, *Marlborough-street;* also, sold by D. BAYLEY at *Newbury-Port;* and M. WILLIAMS at *Salem.* MDCCLXVII.

13, [3], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-14, [2], 96 p.

CtHT-W, MB, MBNEC, MH, MSaE, MWA

Not in Evans, but see 10782; Sabin 94334. The first mention of this edition as "on the press and to be published" appeared in the Boston *Evening Post* in October, 1766. The same newspaper carried the following advertisement on January 12, 1767:

> This day published Tans'ur's Royal Melody Complete, containing his preface on the excellency of church music, an introduction concerning all that is necessary for the Introduction of Learners with all his Psalm tunes, choruses, hymns and anthems, with several canons and ten of the most approved tunes from Williams' Psalmody. The plates are neatly engraved upon copper and printed upon a superfine writing paper on each side.

It is called the "third" edition after the third London edition, of which it is basically a reprint. The "additions" are the tunes from Williams' *Universal Psalmodist* mentioned in the advertisement. Although ten are called for, eleven are listed under a separate heading in the index and are to be found on pages 81, 84, 88, 89, 92, 93, and 96. It will be noted that they all appear in the last two signatures (L and M) of this edition. The music was engraved by John Ward Gilman of Exeter. Except for two engraved leaves containing the rudiments of music, the prefatory matter in all editions is printed from type.

Edition B, 1767 (i.e. 1768?)

THE *ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE:* OR THE NEW HARMONY of ZION. . . . The THIRD EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico. . . . BOSTON:* Printed and sold by W. M'ALPINE, almost Mid-way betwixt the Governor's and Dr. *Gardener*'s, *Marlborough-*

street; also, sold by D. Bayley at *Newbury-Port;* and M. Williams at *Salem.* MDCCLXVII.

Front.; 13, [3], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-14, [2], 112 p.

MWA (inc.), MiU-C

Not in Evans; not in Sabin. The two new signatures (N, pp. 97-104; O, pp. 105-112) contain further borrowings from Williams' *Universal Psalmodist.* The new music is not indexed and is that which later appeared on pages 65-80 of Bayley's editions of the *Universal Psalmodist.* The frontispiece, engraved by John Ward Gilman of Exeter and dated 1767, is a skillful copy of that originally engraved by B. Cole for Tans'ur's *Compleat Melody.* The Cole frontispiece is also found in the third London edition of the *Royal Melody,* which is undoubtedly the source of the Gilman redrawing. Although both title-page and frontispiece are dated 1767, Edition B may not have appeared before 1768. The MWA copy bears a manuscript date, "April 10, 1768." It is probable that some copies were issued without the frontispiece.

Edition C, 1768

THE **Royal Melody Compleat:** OR **The New Harmony of Sion. . . .** By William Tans'ur, Senior; *Musico Theorico.*—The Fourth Edition. To which is added, a Variety of Favourite Psalm and Hymn Tunes, and One New Anthem, from Williams's PSALMODY. . . . Printed for, and Sold by *Daniel Bayley,* at his House next Door to St. Paul's-Church, *Newbury-Port.* 1768.

Front.; [2], 13, [3], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-14, 112 p.

MWA

Not in Evans, but see 11085; not in Sabin. Edition C is the only American edition in which the British spellings "compleat" and "Sion" appear. The title-page now appears on a preliminary leaf, and the index, which lists all the new music, is on page 1 (first group). Undoubtedly, this was an edition designed for Bayley's exclusive use and primarily for sale in Newburyport; Edition B was utilized by William M'Alpine in Boston and Mascoll Williams in Salem. The new title-page, which refers to the added materials on pages 97-112, was probably set in type and printed by M'Alpine for Bayley. Evans 11085 repeats the inaccurate title-page and incorrect collation of Evans 10782 but gives the correct date and a basically accurate version of the imprint.

Edition D, 1767-1769 (i.e. 1769)

THE *ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE:* OR THE NEW HARMONY of ZION. . . . The Third Edition, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico. . . . BOSTON:* Printed and sold by W. M'Alpine, almost Mid-way betwixt the Governor's and Dr. *Gardener*'s, *Marlborough-street;* also, sold by D. Bayley at *Newbury-Port;* and M. Williams at *Salem.* MDCCLXVII.

[Second title:] THE AMERICAN HARMONY: OR *UNIVERSAL PSALMODIST*. . . . By A. WILLIAMS, *Teacher of Psalmody*, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House, next Door St. *Paul*'s Church,*Newbury-Port* [*sic*]:—Sold also by the Booksellers in BOSTON. 1769.

Front.; 13, [3], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-14, [2], 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CSmH

Not in Evans; not in Sabin. Edition D was advertised as "this day published" in the Boston *Gazette* of January 9, 1769. A more detailed advertisement appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of February 2, 1769:

> This day published, and to be sold by D. BAYLEY . . . A NEW Edition of TANSUR'S [*sic*] Royal Melody, with a Variety of Tunes, from The Melody of the Heart. To which is added, WILLIAMS's Universal Psalmody, with a Variety of Anthems and Hymn Tunes, from the latest and most celebrated Authors; the whole containing upwards of one hundred and ninety Psalm and Hymn-Tunes, and twenty-five Anthems. . . . Price *Eight Shillings* Lawful Money. . . .

Beginning with this edition, the Tans'ur and Williams tune books must be considered as two parts, called "volumes," of a single collection, for the moment lacking a general title. Despite the use of the Edition A and B title-page for Volume I, which bears the M'Alpine imprint, the sheets for which Bayley had evidently purchased from M'Alpine, the edition as a whole is clearly a Bayley publication, both edited and printed by him.

Volume I.—Through page 80, Volume I is identical to Editions A and B, including the index. Thereafter, pages 81, 84-85, 88-89, 92-93, and 96 contain new tunes borrowed by Bayley from another Tans'ur compilation, *The Melody of the Heart* (2nd ed.; London, 1737): as a result, the contents of these pages do not match the index. Pages 90-91 and 94-95 are printed from the plates already used for the corresponding pages in Editions A and B. Pages 82-83 and 86-87 are duplicated in Volumes I and II. Bayley evidently had not as yet had time to remove all of the Williams' tunes from Volume I.

Volume II.—Note that this is the first printing of either volume in which Bayley is actually designated the printer. New plates were engraved by John Ward Gilman of Exeter for pages 1-64, 82-83, 86-87, 90-91, and 94-95. Pages 65-80 are printed from the plates already used in signatures N and O (pp. 97-112) of the *Royal Melody*, Editions B and C, with pagination and signature letters altered.[5] Pages 81, 84-85, 88-89, 92-93, and 96 are printed

[5] According to Edythe N. Backus, *Catalogue of Music in the Huntington Library Printed Before 1801* (San Marino, 1949), No. 2326, the Huntington copy, which the authors have not examined, shows the pagination and signature letters of pages 65-80 in Volume II changed by hand. The only other copy the authors have seen,

from the plates already used for corresponding pages in the *Royal Melody*, Editions A, B, and C, with pagination unchanged, but with redrawn signature letters on pages 81 and 89. It is possible that a small number of copies of this edition of the *Universal Psalmodist* were sold as a separate publication; Bayley states in the preface that he expects that the *Universal Psalmodist* will "mostly" be bound with the *Royal Melody*, thus implying that separate copies might be available.

Edition E, 1767-1769 (i.e. 1769)

THE *ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE:* OR THE NEW HARMONY of ZION. . . . The THIRD EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico. . . . BOSTON:* Printed and sold by W. M'ALPINE, almost Mid-way betwixt the Governor's and Dr. *Gardener*'s, *Marlborough-street;* also, sold by D. BAYLEY at *Newbury-Port;* and M. WILLIAMS at *Salem.* MDCCLXVII.

[Second title:] THE AMERICAN HARMONY: OR *UNIVERSAL PSALMODIST.* . . . By A. WILLIAMS, *Teacher of Psalmody*, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House, next Door St. *Paul*'s Church,*Newbury-Port* [*sic*]:—Sold also by the Booksellers in *BOSTON.* 1769.

13, [3], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-14, [2], 96 p.; [4], 96 p. Signature G in Vol. I is mixed as follows: 49, 54, 55, 52, 53, 50, 51, 56.

MWA, CtHT-W (inc.)

Not in Evans; not in Sabin. The MWA copy has a title-page and index-page of Edition C tipped into Volume I immediately following the first title-page. This may have been the way the edition was planned, as this is a good, tight copy in its original binding. An additional peculiarity of this copy is that the two leaves numbered 7-8 are erroneously tipped in between pages 12 and 13 (second group).

Volume I.—Pages 82, 83, 86, and 87 are now printed from the plates originally used for the corresponding pages in Editions A and B, thus eliminating the duplication in Edition D.

Volume II.—Identical with Edition D.

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in a private library, shows the pagination and signature letters changed on the plate. It would thus appear that the Huntington copy was made up of sheets purchased by Bayley from M'Alpine, and not newly printed from plates. This leads to the further supposition that the *Universal Psalmodist* was nearing completion and publication while it was still in M'Alpine's hands. The strong probability is that the first 64 pages of music were engraved (and perhaps printed); the remainder of the book represents the additional pages Gilman engraved during the time interval in which Bayley controlled the book, and an improvisation in regard to the remaining pages in order to bring the book to completion.

An incomplete copy at the Library of Congress, which cannot be conclusively identified as any specific edition, is historically important because it contains the only known authentic William Billings holograph. An attestation dated 1769 notes that a manuscript tune on the flyleaf was "composed and prick'd down by William Billings of Boston."

Edition F, 1769

THE **American Harmony:** OR, **Royal Melody Complete.** IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I. . . . The FIFTH EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico*. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAILEY [*sic*], at his House next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port*. 1769. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston*.

[Second title:] THE AMERICAN HARMONY: OR *UNIVERSAL PSALMODIST*. . . . By A. WILLIAMS, *Teacher of Psalmody*, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House, next Door St. *Paul*'s Church,*Newbury-Port* [*sic*]:—Sold also by the Booksellers in BOSTON. 1769.

5, [1], 1-6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-12, 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

DLC

Not in Evans; not in Sabin. With this edition, the Tans'ur and Williams tune books first clearly appear as two parts of a single collection called *The American Harmony*, certainly an incongruous choice of title, but understandable enough in view of contemporary political feelings.

Volume I.—A new title-page utilizing black letter, following the general format of Edition C, is used. The introductory matter has been condensed, rearranged, repaginated, and set in new type. The index has been corrected to include the tunes from Tans'ur's *Melody of the Heart* first published in Edition D. See Table I.

Volume II.—Identical with Editions D and E.

TABLE I

CHANGES IN CONTENT, PAGES 81-96, IN AMERICAN EDITIONS OF *THE ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE*

Page	A-B-C	D	E-K
81	COLCHESTER^{u}	WOODSTOCK^{m}	WOODSTOCK^{m}
	WELLS^{u}		
82	AN ANTHEM^{r}	NEW 50TH^{u}	AN ANTHEM^{r}
83	(cont'd)	NORWICH^{u}	(cont'd)
		WAKEFIELD^{u}	
84	TROY^{u}	IXWORTH^{m}	IXWORTH^{m}
	[2 canons]^{u}	CHELMSFORD^{m}	CHELMSFORD^{m}
85	NEWBURY^{u}	KILLINGSWORTH^{m}	KILLINGSWORTH^{m}
	PUTNEY^{u}	WELLINGBROUGH^{m}	WELLINGBROUGH^{m}
86	TRUE CHRISTIAN LITANY^{r}	BUCKINGHAM^{u}	TRUE CHRISTIAN LITANY^{r}
		VIRGINIA^{u}	
87	A NEW RESPONSE^{r}	BETHESDA^{u}	A NEW RESPONSE^{r}
		[canon]^{u}	
88	LITTLETON^{u}	DARLINGTON^{m}	DARLINGTON^{m}

	[canon][u]	NEWPORT[m]	NEWPORT[m]
89	DALSTON[u]	BELFORD[m]	BELFORD[m]
		PORTSMOUTH[m]	PORTSMOUTH[m]
90	ANTHEM[r]	ANTHEM[r]	ANTHEM[r]
91	(cont'd)	(cont'd)	(cont'd)
92	MANSFIELD[u]	UTOXETER[m]	UTOXETER[m]
		QUINZAY[m]	QUINZAY[m]
93	AMSTERDAM[u]	ELY[m]	ELY[m]
		BANBURY[m]	BANBURY[m]
94	ANTHEM[r]	ANTHEM[r]	ANTHEM[r]
95	WANTAGE[u]	WANTAGE[u]	WANTAGE[u]
	BRAY[u]	BRAY[u]	BRAY[u]
96	HYMN[u]	AXMINSTER[m]	AXMINSTER[m]
		LUTTERWORTH[m]	LUTTERWORTH[m]
		FARNHAM[m]	FARNHAM[m]

[u] Original source: Williams' *Universal Psalmodist* (London).
[r] Original source: Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Compleat* (London).
[m] Original source: Tans'ur's *Melody of the Heart* (London).

Edition G, 1769 (i.e. 1770?)

THE **American Harmony:** OR, **Royal Melody Complete.** IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I. . . . The FIFTH EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico*. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAILEY [*sic*], at his House next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port*. 1769. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston*.

[Second title:] THE **American Harmony,** OR **Universal Psalmodist** . . . . By A. WILLIAMS, Teacher of Psalmody, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House next Door to St. *Paul*'s Church, *Newbury-Port*:—Sold also by the Booksellers in BOSTON, 1769.

5, [1], 6 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 9-12, 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CtHT-W (2 copies, 1 inc.), DLC (2 copies, 1 inc.), MB, MHi, MSaE, MWA, MiU-C, NHi (inc.), NNUT, RPJCB

Evans 11489; Sabin 94335. Despite the 1769 date on both title-pages, Edition G may not have appeared before 1770. In previous editions (D, E, and F) the *Universal Psalmodist* contains the following advertisement, omitted in this edition, on page [4]:

> In a few Days will be Published and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, a *New Edition* of TUNES, *suitable* to Bind in *Psalm-Books*; which will contain an *Introduction* to MUSICK, with a very great *Variety* of *Psalm* and *Hymn* Tunes, Composed in *Three* and *Four* Parts, *Carefully* set in *Score*, and *neatly Engraved* on *Copper Plate*, and will be Sold at a *moderate* Price.

This advertisement can only pertain to Bayley's *Essex Harmony* of 1770. Its deletion indicates that this edition did not appear until after the publication of the *Essex Harmony*. The MWA copy bears the manuscript date "January 7, 1771."

Volume I.—Identical with Edition F.

Volume II.—The typography of the title-page has been altered so as to conform with that of Volume I. All introductory material is printed from a new type set-up, with all but one error in the index of Editions D, E, and F corrected; "Wickham," which actually appears on page 36, is still incorrectly listed as on page 35. The advertisement quoted above has been deleted from page [4].

Edition H, 1771

THE **American Harmony:** OR, **Royal Melody Complete.** IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I. ... The SIXTH EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico*. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAILEY [*sic*], at his House next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port*. 1771. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston*.

[Second title:] THE **American Harmony,** OR **Universal Psalmodist** . . . . By A. WILLIAMS, Teacher of Psalmody, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House next Door to St. *Paul*'s Church, *Newbury-Port*:—Sold also by the Booksellers in BOSTON, 1771.

5, [1], 6, 9-12, 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CtHT-W, CtY, DLC, MSaE, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB

Evans 12240; Sabin 94336. This is the only edition in which the two leaves numbered 7-8 are apparently omitted by design, although the skip in the pagination from 6 to 9 makes it appear that the book is incomplete.

Volume I.—A new page of rudiments, apparently executed to take the place of the two leaves numbered 7-8, appears on page 1 (third group) in lieu of the tune "St. Luke's." Changes from page to page are listed in Table II. Although the changes seem extensive, actually only two new tunes, those found on page 8, are included in Edition H. Those omitted to make room for the new page of rudiments and the two new tunes are "Tamworth," "The Request," and "Evening Hymn." Bayley neglected to revise the index; thus it pertains to Edition G.

Volume II.—Identical with Edition G. Typographically printed material has been re-set.

TABLE II

CHANGES IN CONTENT, PAGES 1-39, IN AMERICAN EDITIONS OF *THE ROYAL MELODY COMPLETE*

Page	A-G	H-K
1	ST. LUKE'S	[rudiments of music]
2	DUNCHURCH, WINCHESTER	UPPINGHAM (re-engraved)
7	WORKSOP, BELLFORD	HYMN, ANGEL'S HYMN (re-engraved)
8	ST. DAVID'S, BANGOR	EVENING HYMN, FEW HAPPY MATCHES

27	UPPINGHAM	ST. LUKE'S
30	TAMWORTH	ST. DAVID'S, BANGOR
36	HYMN, ANGEL'S HYMN	DUNCHURCH, WINCHESTER
37	THE REQUEST, EVENING HYMN	WORKSOP, BELLFORD
39	BARBY	BARBY (re-engraved)

Edition I, 1771

THE **American Harmony:** OR, **Royal Melody Complete.** IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I. . . . The SEVENTH EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico.* . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port.* 1771. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston.*

[Second title:] THE **American Harmony,** OR, **Universal Psalmodist.** VOL. II. . . . By A. WILLIAMS, Teacher of Psalmody, in LONDON. . . . Printed and Sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port.* 1771. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston.*

5, [1], 10 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CtHC, CtHT-W, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MSaE, MWA, NN, NNUT, NBuG, OClWHi, RPJCB

Evans 12241; Sabin 94337. The misspelling of Bayley's name in the imprints of Editions F, G, and H is here corrected.

Volume I.—The entire preface has been printed from newly set type and repaginated. The index has been amended to take into account the changes which first appeared in Edition H (see Table II), but Bayley overlooked the tune "Tamworth," which remains in the index although it has been removed from the book. He seems to have changed his mind regarding the advisability of abandoning the two leaves of rudiments, as in Edition I and all subsequent editions they are invariably found gathered in at the end of the introductory matter.

Volume II.—Identical with Edition H. Typographically printed material has been re-set. This is the first edition in which the *Universal Psalmodist* is actually labeled "Vol. II" on the title-page.

Edition J, 1773

THE **American Harmony,** OR, **Royal Melody Complete.** IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I. . . . The EIGHTH EDITION, with Additions. By WILLIAM TANS'UR, Senior, *Musico Theorico.* . . . Printed and sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House, next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port.* 1773. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston.* Just Published, and to be sold by said BAYLEY, and the Booksellers in *Boston,* The *New Universal Harmony,* or a *Compendium of Church Music:* Being a Collection of *Favorite Anthems, Hymn-Tunes* and *Carols,* composed by the greatest Masters. Price *Six Shillings.*

[Second title:] THE **American Harmony,** OR, **Universal Psalmodist.** VOL. II. . . . By A. WILLIAMS, Teacher of Psalmody, in LONDON. . . . Printed and sold by DANIEL BAYLEY, at his House, next Door to St. Paul's Church, *Newbury-Port.* 1773. Sold also by most Booksellers in *Boston.*

5, [1], 10 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CtHT-W (2 copies, 1 inc.), CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MSaE, MWA, NN, PPiW

Evans 13035; Sabin 94338. All typographically printed material has been re-set.

Edition K, 1774

[Text of both title-pages same as Edition K, excepting only that the date on each has been changed to 1774.]

5, [1], 10 p.; two leaves numbered 7-8; 96 p.; [4], 96 p.

CtHT-W, CtY, MSaE, MWA, NN, RPJCB

Not in Evans; Sabin 94339. Since Edition J of 1773 was called the "eighth," this should presumably have been called the "ninth." Why Bayley issued two eighth editions is not known. All typographically printed material has been re-set.

Summary Checklist of Editions

Edition A: *The Royal Melody Complete.* Third edition, with additions. Boston, M'Alpine, 1767. Has 96 pages of music.

Edition B: Same. Has 112 pages of music and a frontispiece.

Edition C: *The Royal Melody Compleat* [*sic*]. Fourth edition. Newburyport, for Bayley, 1768. Has 112 pages of music.

Edition D: Edition A combined with *The American Harmony, or Universal Psalmodist.* Newburyport: Bayley, 1769. There are new materials in the last two signatures of the *Royal Melody*; pages 82, 83, 86, and 87 are identical in both "volumes."

Edition E: Same. The duplications of musical content in Edition D have now been eliminated by printing pages 82, 83, 86, and 87 from the same plates used for these pages in Editions A, B, and C.

Edition F: *The American Harmony, or Royal Melody Complete.* Vol. I. Fifth edition, with additions. Newburyport, Bayley, 1769. [Second title:] *The American Harmony, or Universal Psalmodist.* Newburyport, Bayley, 1769.

Edition G: Same. The title-page of the *Universal Psalmodist* now conforms typographically (cf. the use of black letter) with that of the *Royal Melody*; the advertisement has been omitted from page [4] of the *Universal Psalmodist.*

Edition H: Same. Sixth edition, 1771.

Edition I: Same. Seventh edition, 1771. The *Universal Psalmodist* is now designated "Vol. II."

Edition J: Same. Eighth edition, 1773.

Edition K: Same. Eighth edition, 1774.

Irving Lowens

and

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"Damon and Alexis": Nuptial Satire or Political Squib?

Damon and Alexis is not a very impressive piece.[1] It is only a single folded sheet about ten inches in length, headed by a large black title. For what it lacks in ornamentation, it makes up by having been produced on the press of John Peter Zenger, the patron of America's freedom to publish.

On the printed catalogue card of the New York Public Library *Damon and Alexis* is described as "A dialogue, probably intended as a satire on the marriage of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, son of the Duke of Grafton, and Elizabeth Cosby, daughter of William Cosby, Governor of New York." The card, Livingston Rutherfurd, and Evans all ascribe its date of publication to the year 1734.[2] This would be the appropriate year if the dialogue was a satire on the Fitzroy-Cosby marriage. However, some study suggests that the piece was not aimed at that marriage, and that what it does have reference to postulates an earlier publication date.

The "plot" of the dialogue can be quickly outlined. After a short introduction of no particular significance, Damon tells his friend that "the noble stranger has arrived." In reply, Alexis notes that Tityrus must now put off the "purple vest, while courtly *MUSIDORE* ... ascends the

[1] *Damon and Alexis, A Pastoral* [New York, John Peter Zenger, 1734]. It is available in the Reserve Room (303) of the New York Public Library.

[2] Livingston Rutherfurd, *John Peter Zenger* (New York, 1904), p. 151; Evans, 3766.

seat of power." The two rustics then expatiate on the joy that this new ruler will radiate over the province. They suddenly hear the City's acclamations and fly to view the scene. There, in the midst of the cheering throng, they behold Musidore, his wife Eugenia, and their children. Musidore and his family move with such elegance that they seem scarcely mortal to Damon and his friend. Alexis holds back from joining the celebration. Damon agrees, saying that only those who have been schooled in the courtier graces should welcome this noble entourage. The rural people should merely invoke the blessings of the gods.

From this summary, it should be clear that the piece cannot be a satire on the Fitzroy-Cosby marriage. Musidore and Eugenia are spoken of as already married and the parents of several children. Musidore would have been an inept alias for Lord Augustus, since he did not come to displace anyone from the "seat of power." At best, the amorous Lord only superseded some provincial swain.[3] Furthermore, the choice of names conveys ideas which are inapplicable to Lord Augustus and his provincial bride, but sharply appropriate for Governor Cosby and his wife.

The meanings of the dialogue can be gathered from two sources, the obvious "plot," and the names of the characters. The impression which would immediately strike a reader is that of the recent arrival of some very important persons. These VIP's are greeted by the City with a tumultuous reception. The advice which the dialogue offers is for the rural people to stay at home and not to swell the welcoming throng. No exegesis is necessary to establish these two points; it is the clear sense of the words. The description of the dialogue on the catalogue card bears this out. It only errs in applying these facts to the Fitzroy-Cosby nuptials. The corrective for this ascription may be found in the second meaning which the author conveys by means of the names.

The names of the two speakers must be disposed of first. Damon appears in Virgil's third *Eclogue* as a goatherd who lost a singing contest. Only his name is mentioned without further elaboration. Alexis is also only a name, but in Virgil's second *Eclogue*. He is a shepherd about whom the spurned Corydon complains. Since both names have no "body," they can be taken as merely vehicles for the pastoral dialogue.

[3] Shortly before his death at the siege of Cartagena in 1741, Lord Augustus was convicted of adultery; see *The Tryal Between Sir W——m M–rr–s, Baronet, Plaintiff, And Lord A—gst—s F—tz-R—y, Defendant* (London, 1742). Fitzroy's second son by Elizabeth Cosby followed in his father's amorous footsteps, but the Duke of Grafton is better known today for his rôle in British politics before the American Revolution.

However, the author used another name more clearly identified with Virgil. Tityrus appears in the first *Eclogue*—and not merely as a name. Tityrus is a freedman who had secured his freedom and property by a trip to Rome. In him Virgil had incorporated one of his own experiences. Virgil had hurried to Rome in order to save his father's estate from being confiscated as a "bonus" for one of Octavius Caesar's myrmidons. Though secure himself, Virgil has Tityrus's less fortunate companion exclaim:

> What! shall some godless soldier possess these well-tilled acres?
> A barbarian these crops! . . . Have we for these men sown our fields?[4]

Governor Cosby's military career, tarnished reputation, and his presumed desire to recoup his fortunes all fit these words too aptly for chance.

The name Tityrus evokes two other ideas. Virgil made him an ambiguous figure. He is both an old man and the poet himself. This ambiguity, as well as Tityrus's age, was adaptable to colonial affairs. It serves to cover two men—Rip van Dam, whom Cosby displaced in New York, and Lewis Morris, whom Cosby displaced in New Jersey. Both were elderly men when Cosby relieved them of the two governments. In addition, Morris had journeyed to England at the turn of the century to secure a royal government for New Jersey, while safeguarding the proprietary interest in the land.[5] Thus, both van Dam and Morris could be symbolized by a Tityrus who must relinquish the "purple vest" to the "courtly *MUSIDORE.*"

The author of *Damon and Alexis* lifted Musidore from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia.* The choice again is apt, because *Arcadia* is a political allegory,[6] and because certain salient features of Musidore are applicable to Governor Cosby. Musidore is a prince in disguise, at first glance a strange alias for Cosby. Yet it will be recalled that the Governor came to New York clothed with royal authority, and to this extent may be taken as a disguised prince. Furthermore, both Musidore and Cosby were soldiers who had traveled a good deal. Both underwent trials, though for different crimes; both were acquitted by some devious procedures.

[4] Virgil, *The Eclogues and The Georgics*, Trans. R. C. Trevelyan (Cambridge, 1944), p. 7.

[5] William Cosby to the Duke of Newcastle, May 3, 1733. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1857), V, 944-946.

[6] William Dinsmore Briggs, "Political Ideas in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Studies in Philology*, XVIII (1931), 137-161.

In the course of Musidore's trial, Sidney has him put forth claims which echo the ideas imputed to many royal governors. Musidore asserts that he is not subject to Arcadian laws, and challenges the right of the court to judge him. To this, the judge replies:

> . . . that Arcadian laws, were to have their force upon any who were found in Arcadia: since strangers have scope to know the customs of a country, before they put themselves in it: when they once entered they must know, that what by many was made, must not for one be broken. And so much less for a stranger. . . .

As to Musidore's immunity as a "public man," the judge declares this immunity did not protect a "public man" if he infringes the law.[7] If he understood the allusion, Governor Cosby could hardly have relished such a legal doctrine.

The last and least important of the three names in the dialogue is Eugenia—Mrs. Cosby. There is no suitable literary source for this name, but it can be translated from the Greek as "a well-born lady." Mrs. Cosby could boast of being the sister of George Dunk Montagu, the Earl of Halifax.

The tone of the dialogue is evident from the motive which the author assigns for Musidore-Cosby's emigration. He and his wife are to "soften the manners of a barbarous boorish Race, who like . . . rav'nous Locusts . . . have seldom failed to blast each opening Bud of Love, Friendship and Humanity." The irony of this arises from contemporary descriptions of Governor Cosby as waspish, thick-witted and given to soldierly expletives.[8]

This exegesis of the "plot" and the names holds the key to the year when the piece was probably printed. A call for the landed gentry to stay away from the City's welcome would have been appropriate only a short time after Cosby's arrival. It would hardly make sense a year or more later. Since Cosby arrived in New York at the beginning of August, 1732, *Damon and Alexis* was probably printed in that month, but no later than September. The up-country "grandees" still had a harvest to get in before

[7] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia with the Additions of Sir William Alexander and Richard Beling* (New York, 1907), pp. 9, 604-620.

[8] *Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Lord Augustus Fitzroy*, New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division; Lewis Morris Jr. to Cadwallader Colden, January 17, 1734, *The Bancroft Transcripts, Colden Papers*, New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division, I, 25.

coming to pay their respects to the new Governor. As to the author, the piece affords slim evidence for any probable ascription.

While the question of authorship can not be decided, it should be clear that *Damon and Alexis* was not a nuptial satire, but rather a political rally-call to the "country" party. Such a call postulates an earlier publishing date. From the text and context, 1732 rather than 1734 is the more likely year for the appearance of *Damon and Alexis*.

NICHOLAS VARGA

Additions to the Bibliography of Hermann Hesse

When the Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to Hermann Hesse, in November 1946, the author's name was known to a relatively small number of American readers, although his work has long enjoyed great favor with the reading public of Scandinavia, the Slavic countries, and Japan—not to speak of his native Germany and Switzerland. However, the award of the Prize aroused a certain interest in his work, which resulted after an interval of fifteen years in the reappearance of some of his earlier books as well as of a few new translations.

On his seventieth birthday, in June 1947, Hesse was honored by the publication of the first bibliography of his works.[1] Complying with the author's request the editors restricted it to publications in book form, by and about the author. It listed and described some 215 separately published books and pamphlets by Hesse, many of them privately printed and published; about seventy books edited by him, most of them containing introductions or other contributions; and three journals of which he was editor: *März* (1907-1912), *Deutsche Internierten-Zeitung* (1916-1917), and *Vivos Voco* (1919-1923). Also included are twenty-six biographies, monographs, dissertations, and a selection of forty histories of literature with references to Hesse.

The most complex problem in the field of Hesse bibliography has been the compilation of an exact index to his poems, since so many of them appeared only in periodicals and were never reprinted in book form. Although the *Gesammelte Werke* contain an alphabetical list of 605 poems, they represent merely a selection made by Hesse himself for that edition.

[1] Horst Kliemann and Karl H. Silomon, *Hermann Hesse; eine bibliographische Studie*. Frankfurt a.M., Brauersche Giesserei, 1947. 95 p. illus. (part col.) pors.

The additional list of 149 hitherto unrecorded poems which appears in Chapter E, pp. 56-66, of this bibliography, may thus be considered a most valuable part of the book. The concluding chapters deal with musical settings of Hesse's poems and his paintings, represented by a selection of four water-colors.

Since periodical articles on Hesse are not mentioned, the student of his work may like to consult Horst Kliemann's article "Das Werk Hermann Hesse," Part E (*Europa-Archiv*, May 1947, 6-8), and—for American contributions—my own bibliography entitled "Hermann Hesse in Amerika" (*Monatshefte* 44 [1952], 95-99). According to the preface, H. Kliemann was then preparing a second part of this bibliographical study in collaboration with Dr. H. J. Bock of the *Deutsche Bücherei* in Leipzig. This is to include Hesse's prose works published only in newspapers and periodicals, a complete record of all books dealing with his work, periodical articles about him, his more than one thousand book reviews, and translations into foreign languages. One of the compilers, H. Kliemann, issued in 1949 a supplement of *Errata* and *Addenda*. Additions to my own check-list (1952) appear below.

McCormick, John O. "Thomas Wolfe, André Malraux, and Hermann Hesse; a Study in Creative Vitality." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1951.

Malthaner, Johannes. "Hermann Hesse: *Siddharta*." *GQ*, 25 (March 1952), 103-109.

Gnefkow, Edmund. *Hermann Hesse: Biographie*. Freiburg i.Br., G. Kirchhoff, 1952. 143 pp. illus.

Dank an Hermann Hesse; Reden und Aufsätze. [By various authors.] Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp, 1952. 120 pp.

Das Werk von Hermann Hesse, ein Brevier. Zum 70. Geburtstag herausgegeben von Dr. Siegfried Unseld. Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp, 1952. 70 pp. 16 cm. [Extracts from Hesse's *Briefe* and bibliography of his works on opposite page.]

Jaeger, Hans. "Heidegger's Existential Philosophy and Modern German Literature." *PMLA*, 67 (September 1952), 655-683. [Discussion of Hesse on pp. 655, 673-677.]

Mileck, Joseph. "Hermann Hesses *Glasperlenspiel*." *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles), 36 (October 9, 1952), 243-270.

"The Novels of Hermann Hesse." *TLS* (December 1952), 836.

Fickert, Kurt J. "The Problem of the Artist and the Philistine in the Work of Hermann Hesse." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1953.

Jonas, Klaus W. "Hermann Hesse und Thomas Mann." *German Literature* (Tokyo), 10 (May 1953), 15-18.

Mileck, Joseph. "The Poetry of Hermann Hesse." *Monatshefte* (Madison, Wis.), 46 (April-May 1954), 192-198.

——. "The Prose of Hermann Hesse: Life, Substance and Form." *German Quarterly*, 27 (May 1954), 163-174.

KLAUS W. JONAS

Yale University Library

Two Presentation Copies of Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon"

In the case of presentation copies, collectors of rare books by famous authors usually expect to find that only one copy exists of a work inscribed by the writer to a particular friend, acquaintance, or admirer. When there actually show up two presentation copies of the same rare book inscribed to the same person, the suspicion of forgery or of some sort of deception is instantly aroused. When forgery is definitely ruled out, the mystery may still sometimes be solved if the collector has studied the life and character of his author, and can learn something about the individual named in the inscribed presentation copies.

In 1925, the late Thomas James Wise had printed for private circulation only his *A Swinburne Library*, a catalogue of his collection of printed books, manuscripts, and autograph letters, nearly all of which he had garnered at The Pines shortly after the poet's death in 1909.[1] In this catalogue, Wise described (inaccurately, incidentally) his copy of the first edition of the poet's *Atalanta in Calydon* (London, Moxon, 1865, small quarto, 111 pages), and declared: "This was Swinburne's own copy of the first edition of *Atalanta*. I purchased it from Watts-Dunton in the summer of 1910. Inserted between pages 4 and 5 is an early draft of the famous first Chorus . . . ," etc. This may very well have been true, despite the fact Wise did not state that the copy bore the owner's signature; he would certainly have so stated had the poet's name been written on any of the front pages generally used for such purposes.

Wondering what had happened to "Swinburne's own copy," I addressed an inquiry to the British Museum asking whether it had been included among the other items purchased after the collector's death, and if

[1] I, for one, am not at all sorry that Wise descended upon the executor of Swinburne's estate, Theodore Watts-Dunton, before the poet's body was cold at Bonchurch. The British Museum would now be far less rich in Swinburne and other invaluable material had it not been possible to purchase the considerable remainder of the library after the collector's death in 1937.

it had been, whether there was any evidence to support its description as having actually been the poet's own copy. The reply from Mr. R. A. Wilson, Keeper of the Department of Printed Books, reads as follows:

I have your letter about Swinburne's copy, or supposed copy, of the first edition of *Atalanta in Calydon.*

The volume concerned is now in this Library (pressmark Ashley 4359). The corresponding entry in the Ashley Catalogue, volume VI, page 54 says of it much what Wise said in his *A Swinburne Library*, namely that he purchased it from Watts-Dunton in the summer of 1910 and that inserted between pages 4 and 5 there was an early draft of the Chorus, "When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces" and that in addition there was inserted a letter from Landor's daughter conveying the thanks of her brother and herself for the compliment paid to their father by the dedication to him of the work. Since we acquired this we have in fact removed the two manuscripts and transferred them to the Department of Manuscripts and the fact that they originally came from this copy depends, I am afraid, on our word. There is no doubt that they were in the copy when it came to us. As you yourself will no doubt feel, their presence scarcely constitutes irrefutable evidence in itself that this was Swinburne's own copy, and there is no other evidence in the book that it was so.

This means, then, that there is no intrinsic evidence that the book had actually been the poet's own copy, and that the only extrinsic evidence is Wise's unsubstantiated statement upon which some doubt might be cast since, for instance, it is likely that it might very well have been Watts-Dunton's own copy of the book. If Wise's statement is accepted, I am then satisfied that Swinburne had more than one personal copy of the first edition of *Atalanta in Calydon*, even though the edition was said to have consisted of 100 copies only. These were widely distributed and caused the author's immediate ascendency to fame; a second edition, often mistaken for the first, was issued during the same year. I believe also that Swinburne may have had at least two copies and that Wise's *ex parte* statement that his was "Swinburne's own copy" is not so exclusive and definitive as he would lead others to believe, if indeed it be true at all. There is another copy of the book which, in my opinion, has equal, if not superior, claim to that position of honor, and I feel that the supporting evidence is sufficiently reasonable to prove its earlier provenance. This copy is in my own library.

In April 1944, the late Mr. Percy E. Lawler, of the Philadelphia office of the Rosenbach Company, recalling my interest in the book, sent me a clean, crisp copy of the first edition of *Atalanta in Calydon* in the original binding, and a presentation copy at that. "I feel sure that you will be

pleased with it," Mr. Lawler wrote, and then he added, "It will interest you to note that Swinburne's signature appears twice on the half title, the page on which the presentation inscription occurs." On the recto of the half-title, in the upper righthand corner, is Swinburne's signature, and underneath appears a small fragmentary helix. Beneath this and to the left, above the printing of the title in the middle of the page, is the following carefully written inscription in the hand of the author: *Charles Augustus Howell / from his friend / A. C. Swinburne / July 1865 /.* Under the signature and the date appear two smaller helixes. The signatures are quite similar, and since the second one was written in July 1865, the first, unquestionably earlier, must have been written there at some time between that date and the early part of the previous March when the book came from the press. The first signature is that of the owner of the book, and the signature is that of Swinburne himself, and this was "Swinburne's own copy." Why else would the single signature be there? (Incidentally, this copy has been examined independently of each other by three highly qualified handwriting experts, who pronounced all of the writing to be genuine and in the hand of the poet.)

How Howell came by this copy, and who he was, are matters which thicken the plot. I had gained only a hazy impression of the man from scattered references in the biographical and autobiographical literature of the period. I also found that Howell, like many of the literary and artistic men of the late nineteenth century with whom he associated, was a person of considerable and unusual eccentricity. In 1954, while skimming through the latest listing of rare books (Catalogue 110) offered by Mr. Philip C. Duschnes, I was pulled up short on coming upon the following description of item 197:

> Swinburne, Algernon Charles. Atalanta in Calydon. London, 1865. 8vo, bound in blue morocco, parallel gilt borders on covers, inner gilt dentelles, with title interlaced with vine motifs on spine, raised bands, by Cobden-Sanderson in 1890. In a slip-case with green morocco back. First edition. Inscribed by Swinburne to Charles Augustus Howell. This book is listed in *The Journal of Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson.*

Inscribed to Charles Augustus Howell? The name was indeed familiar. Hastily I checked my copy. It was the same person! An order for the book reached New York too late; Item 197 had already been sold and shipped to a mid-western customer. Would Mr. Duschnes forward a note to the purchaser? Yes, replied the considerate Mr. Duschnes, he would forward

a note from me sent in his care. Patience, though enforced, has its reward, and eventually the reply arrived:

> Your letter, through Mr. Duschnes' hands, has reached me, although during my lengthy absence from the city; thus the delay in acknowledgment.
>
> Yes, I do have the copy of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* you refer to. It is not in the original binding, however. It was rebound by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson personally, and is listed in his *Journal.*
>
> I would be only too glad to answer any questions you may have about this copy.

The writer identified himself as Mr. Norman H. Strouse of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. In my reply, with which was enclosed a photostat of the inscribed page in my own copy, I wrote there was no reason to suspect the authenticity of both inscriptions; that the reason for the existence of the unusual duplication, I believed, clearly lay in the personality and activities of the man to whom both copies were inscribed; and that I was halfway through the reading of a delightfully written work devoted entirely to this enigmatic character. Its author was Helen Rossetti Angeli, the daughter of William Michael Rossetti and niece of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whose book about the latter had been so well received a few years before.[2]

Of romantic and mysterious origin, Howell was a bohemian of varied talents and tastes, a generous and sparkling host, a wonderful story teller, a mountebank and trickster, an impractical joker whose own skin was both thin and sensitive, and a flamboyant character whose synthetic bravado veneered a feeling of inferiority. He moved in and out of the artistic and literary circles of London, acting effectively as promoter and driver of bargains, not all of them strictly honest. Among those he served and who served him in one way or another were the Rossettis (he engineered the exhumation of D. G. R.'s manuscript poems from the grave of Elizabeth Siddal Rossetti), John Ruskin, James McNeill Whistler, Edward Burne-Jones, George Frederick Watts, and Swinburne. Mrs. Angeli devotes two sections of her book to Howell and Swinburne, and tells how their friendship of the early sixties ripened into intimacy, and how the poet's commercial affairs became entangled with that relationship. In the words

[2] Helen Rossetti Angeli, *Pre-Raphaelite Twilight: The Story of Charles Augustus Howell* (London, The Richards Press, 1954) and *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Friends and Enemies* (London, Hamish Hamilton, [1949]). Mrs. Angeli, writing from Rome, informed me that Sir Max Beerbohm had chided her for the spelling of *Pre-Raphaelite,* "insisting very properly that I ought to follow my father's sonorous spelling *Praeraphaelite,* a 'rich, warm, glorious word,' and in a properly *mea culpa* I accept his rebuke."

of another writer, Howell became Swinburne's "man of business, the partner of his amusements, the confidant of his literary projects, and often his main channel of communication with the world. For seven or eight years . . . Howell was to Swinburne all that Atticus was to Cicero." [3]

There is, so far as I am aware, no record of the occasion of Howell's receiving from the author the inscribed copy of the first edition of *Atalanta in Calydon* during July of 1865; however, it is not too improbable that he received it as the result of a request for the return of a favor or for a service rendered. From April onward *Atalanta in Calydon* was the most talked of book of verse in England (the earliest London reviews appeared between the first of April and the 15th of May), and Howell was the sort to take a certain pride in owning—for a while at least—the poet's own copy of the first edition with the friendly inscription naming him as the recipient.

Mr. Strouse has kindly supplied a photostat of the half-title on which the inscription had been written. There one sees the name of the recipient and the dated signature of the author: *Charles Augustus Howell* / [Printed title in the middle of the page] / *Algernon Charles Swinburne* / *April 1865*/. This inscription antedates the one in my copy by several weeks, and places the time of Howell's acquisition of the book within only a few weeks after publication. (According to Mr. Wilson, the copyright copy was received at the British Museum on March 16.) An inscription could not be much shorter unless only initials had been used and the date omitted. This one, noncommittal in the extreme, is evidence, I think, that it was written rather hurriedly and in all probability at the personal request of Howell who already owned the copy at the time it was inscribed. When the demand for the work and the announcement of another and a larger forthcoming edition resulted in a premium on copies of the first publication, said to have been only 100 in number, Howell cashed in on his April copy, sought another, hit upon the idea of obtaining the poet's own copy, persuaded him to write in it a more friendly inscription, and then in time disposed of it at an advanced price. It would have been characteristic of Howell, and Swinburne probably would not have objected.

[3] [Sir] Edmund Gosse, *The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (London, Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1917), p. 159. In the Bonchurch edition of *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, edited by Gosse and Wise (London, William Heinemann Ltd.; New York, Gabriel Wells, 1925-7), this biography appeared as Vol. 19, and it will be found there (p. 147) that the last phrase of the above quotation has been altered to read "Howell pretended to be to Swinburne . . ."

Are there any other copies of this rare book inscribed by the author to Charles Augustus Howell? It would not be surprising to find the answer to be in the affirmative.[4]

JOHN S. MAYFIELD

[4] Upon reading a draft of this article, Mrs. Angeli wrote from Rome: "Howell's possession of two copies is puzzling but not, I should have thought, unique. He probably cheekily asked for a second copy; he and the poet were very good friends at that time. It is probable also that Swinburne was rather vague or casual at the time on such points. But I think you sum up very convincingly on the matter."

Book Reviews

Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene. Edited by Dorothy Miner. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1954. xviii, 502 pp., 168 plates of collotype illustrations, and illustrations in the text. 11½ x 9 inches. $25.00.

Recognition of quality was one of Belle da Costa Greene's greatest assets in her work as librarian of The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. She might have been well pleased with the present *Festschrift*, gathered and published in her honor—and her memory—had she lived to see it. Miss Greene died in 1950. The tribute to her did not appear until the fall of 1954. Its publication is mainly due to the thoughtfulness and initiative of Miss Dorothy Miner, librarian of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. The volume speaks as much for Miss Miner's devotion as it does for her ability to weld contributions of international scholarship, covering centuries and multitudes of subject matter, and representing the interests and work of a great librarian and "her" library into a cohesive unit. Does not the table of contents convey to the reader the length and breadth of Miss Greene's activities; and is not this table of contents a veritable "Who's Who" of scholars the world over? It is almost in this alone that the *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* might be called one of the most remarkable publications of recent times. They will occupy a unique place in the learned world.

Preceded by a list of donors and authors, and an engaging full-page photograph of Miss Greene in her study at The Pierpont Morgan Library, a setting many will claim as a precious memory, Miss Miner's foreword explains that the *Studies* "were first planned in the hope that they would be read by Miss Greene." And it proceeds in giving the reader a portrait of unusual tenderness and perception. Not many people were as privileged as was Miss Miner to have been in Miss Greene's confidence; and as Miss Greene was notoriously reluctant to talk about herself, scornful of having herself discussed, Miss Miner's statements of fact and rendering of impressions, may well constitute the most authentic "life" to come from anybody's pen. "A biography of Belle Greene would be a fas-

cinating and colorful account with a fabulous array of personalities, settings, and incidents. It would move against a backdrop of princely palaces and international playgrounds, austere libraries and remote cloisters, of academic meetings and the world of society. The account would be tense with the excitement of the auction room. It would unveil endless hours of study and the lonely agony preceding great decisions. It would be full of triumphs and fairy-tale successes, gaiety and humor, irony, sorrow, bravado, and courage. Stories would be told of her loyalty and of her sense of fun, her crushing forthrightness of speech and her surpassing generosity. Through the pages would parade fabulous objects of art and history—paintings, sculptures, books and manuscripts, and other things whose beauty made them immortal beyond the lot of those who created them or the great of the past who owned them. Above all, it would be a tale crowded with people—people of every kind and station—some known to all the world by reason of power or accomplishment, some the most obscure of students." Does not this paragraph convey before our eyes a picture of the person to be honored? Are not Miss Miner's imaginative allusions a most impressionistic rendering of a biography perhaps never to be written?

Fifty-one distinguished scholars, American and European, affirm Miss Miner's words. Their contributions, arranged by subject matter, represent important new contributions in their various fields of specialization, and while they thus bear arresting testimony of the vigor and scope of modern scholarship, they also reflect the range of knowledge and interest of the person in whose honor they were submitted. It would be an impossibility for one man to be able to judge the quality of each individual contribution. This "review" must perforce be a descriptive account.

The Duke of Alba, Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, Harry Miller Lydenberg, and Lawrence C. Wroth, in the opening section, share the honors of paying "tribute" to Miss Greene and The Pierpont Morgan Library's first director. The second section of the book is devoted to *History and the Arts,* in which Bernard Berenson, Cardinal Tisserant, and twenty-three others discuss problems of iconography, painting, architecture, sculpture, the decorative arts, prints, and drawings. This is followed by a third section, entitled *Books and Manuscripts,* twenty-two contributions covering medieval manuscripts, illumination, palaeography, medieval texts and liturgy, printed books and bibliography, literature and autograph manuscripts, as well as book bindings.

Bernard Berenson's opening contribution in the second section, on the

Decline and Recovery in the Figure Arts, acutely echoes Belle Greene's belief when he says, "if I have an antipathy, it is toward the peoples who make exasperated and even truculent claims for an originality and a superiority in no way justified by their art products, as well as against interpretations inspired by inferiority complexes rather than by supernational interests." Cardinal Tisserant discusses *Some Aspects of the Orient on the Eve of its Evangelization,* and claims that "Christianism owes a great deal to Hellenism, notably the language of sacred books." Samuel C. Chew in a study of iconographic significance investigates *Spenser's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins* and their relationship to medieval source material. Laura Hibbard Loomis' *The Oriflamme of France and the War-Cry "Monjoie" in the Twelfth Century* pays tribute to Belle Greene as the purchaser of the Book of St. Edmund for the Morgan Library (Ms. 736), "one of her notable acquisitions for the place where the sense of her lingers like that of 'an army with banners.' " And Professor Roger Sherman Loomis investigates *The "Pas Saladin" in Art and Heraldry,* leaving it to both Millard Meiss and Erwin Panofsky to wind up the section with papers respectively, on *Ovum Struthionis, Symbol and Allusion in Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece* (incidentally, claiming that "oology may qualify as a branch of iconology!"), and on *A Letter to Saint Jerome: a Note on the Relationship between Petrus Christus and Jan van Eyck*—a contribution which in true Panofsky style makes more fascinating reading than a detective tale.

It would be impossible to remark on, or even list, the individual papers of the contributors who follow. It is of interest to read that Alan Priest, writing about *An Illuminated Buddhist Scroll in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* says that "Miss Greene saw and admired it twenty years ago and, if she could have extracted it by itself from the greedy guardian, considered recommending it for the Morgan Library." A statement which brings to mind Belle Greene's desire, at one time, to learn to be able to speak Chinese! Gisela M. A. Richter, the distinguished Honorary Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum, lovingly mentions Belle Greene's concern for the care of *The Morgan Eros,* suffering from "bronze disease," and furnishes the reader with a splendid description of this most attractive example of Greek Hellenistic art that has survived to this day. *The Authenticity of the Chalice of Antioch* is authoritatively supported by James J. Rorimer and refers to Belle Greene in the rôle of advisor and friend. "Before finally recommending the purchase of the Chalice of Antioch . . . I had sought the advice of Miss Greene."

And Georg Swarzenski, in a charming article entitled *Just a Dragon* in which he describes an exceptionally attractive small bronze dragon from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, acquired in 1939, for which a Han and a German thirteenth-century origin had been proposed in the past, and which he tentatively identifies as a Western pre-Romanesque bronze from a Crucifixion group, claims that "homage to Belle Greene confined to a single subject is close to paradoxical." William M. Ivins, Jr., A. Hyatt Mayor, Geoffrey L. Keynes, and Felice Stampfle pay additional tribute in their papers on prints and drawings, ranging from *A Metal Cut Attributed to Francesco Francia,* by Mr. Mayor, to *Blake's Vision of the Circle of the Life of Man,* by Mr. Keynes.

Readers of the PAPERS will find the contributions on *Books and Manuscripts* of especial interest, and it is here that we meet the spirit of librarian and collector Greene at its best. How close she has been to the illuminated manuscripts and early printed books under her care, how carefully and generously she worked towards the purchase of some of these incredibly great treasures, our own generation has experienced. The exhibition of the outstanding purchases arranged at the time of her retirement from the Pierpont Morgan Library is ample proof of this close association. Illumination, palaeography, liturgical studies, printed books and bibliography, and finally the literary side of manuscripts—each phase of the book was her concern. This the *Festschrift* has luckily solved in that the scholars connected with the work of the library have come to the rally, nobly and assertively. The "book" in all its phases is here covered; it is the book as Miss Greene herself saw it.

Albert Boeckler's examination of *Das Erhardbild im Utacodex,* the eleventh-century evangeliary of Munich, vies with Wilhelm Koehler's study of *The Fragments of an Eighth-Century Gospel Book in the Morgan Library (Ms. 564),* here identified as a product of the Salzburg scriptorium; while Miss Sirarpie Der Nersessian introduces the reader to *An Armenian Lectionary of the Fourteenth Century,* with miniatures adding new scenes and interpretations to our repertory of biblical illustration and with decorations which constitute the principal attraction of the manuscript. *The Morgan Golden Gospels: The Date and Origin of the Manuscript* is the paper by Professor E. A. Lowe in which the author so humanly quotes St. Jerome in his preface to Job, "Let those who want them have ancient books or books written in gold or silver on purple parchment or in what is commonly called uncial letters—written burdens (I call them) rather than books," yet making us feel grateful for the fact that Morgan Ms. 23

represents the very style and material decried by that biblical scholar. Professor Lowe's claim that the Golden Gospels is the work of the Master of the Registrum Gregorii at Trier, under Archbishop Egbert, destroys the former theory that the manuscript was of the Anglo-Saxon seventh century, hailing from either Northumbria or Carolingian France. However, "the loss in antiquity is compensated for by the knowledge that it issued from a great Ottonian scriptorium and now joins the noble company of such masterpieces as the Sainte Chapelle Gospels and the Gospels of the John Rylands Library, the Sacramentary of Chantilly and that of St. Maximin of Trier." Eric G. Millar's study of *Fresh Materials for the Study of English Illumination* will please those who bemoan the loss of the Golden Gospels to the Anglo-Saxon world. His ascriptions of several well-known manuscripts to English schools refer to the ground work laid by Mr. Walter Oakeshott, the Headmaster of Winchester College, honorary librarian of the Cathedral, and author of *The Sequence of English Medieval Art Illustrated Chiefly from Illuminated MSS, 650-1450,* and of *The Artists of the Winchester Bible.* A highly specialized paper on *The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Illuminated Ornament* by Theodore Petersen, C.S.P., is based on, and refers to, the sixty Hamuli manuscripts found in the Fayum in 1910 and now in The Pierpont Morgan Library. These constitute the earliest large group of Coptic manuscripts bearing full documentation of their origin and date, hailing from the monastery of St. Michael of the Desert. It would be interesting to prove Professor Cresswell's theory in his "Coptic Influence on Early Muslim Architecture," that Coptic builders should be given credit for originating the form of the Muslim pulpit, the Mihrab. But according to Professor Petersen, Coptic influence on Islamic manuscript illumination cannot at present be proven because "so very little is known of Coptic illumination as practiced in the rich towns of Lower Egypt during the centuries immediately before and after the Arab conquest." *An Illuminated Gospel Book in Ethiopic,* described here for the first time by Patrick W. Skehan, was Miss Greene's last purchase (Ms. 828) in a row of glorious acquisitions. It is a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of the Four Gospels, preceded by canon tables and a cycle of illustrations dealing with the life of Christ, of truly unique character. And *The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639,* described by Dr. Kurt Weitzmann is proof of Miss Greene's interest in the earliest texts and illuminations, originating in Byzantium, and coming to the Morgan Library via the Duke of Hamilton, the Royal Museum of Berlin, and Henry Yates Thompson, from whose sale it was pur-

chased in 1919. Dr. Weitzmann's structural analysis of a complex picture cycle, as contained in this eleventh-century manuscript, gives an insight into the working methods of a group of miniaturists engaged in the manufacture of a rich service book. Morgan Ms. 639 is a most instructive demonstration piece for the bookmaking practices of a Byzantine atelier.

The final section, reserved for contributions on printed books, bibliography, literature, autograph manuscripts, and book binding, is dashingly introduced by Curt F. Bühler's *Authors and Incunabula* in which he investigates the nature of the "fifteeners." It is an exceedingly entertaining work of research, and though short, full of exciting revelations statistically. This is followed by *A Hand-list of the Incunabula of the Royal Malta Library,* by Mauro Inguanez; Edgar Wind's brilliant *The Revival of Origen*; George K. Boyce's *Three Letters from Machiavelli's Official Correspondence,* and Sir Shane Leslie's amusing account of *The Swift Manuscripts in the Morgan Library.* Richard Ettinghausen reports on *The Covers of the Morgan Manâfi' Manuscript and Other Early Persian Bookbindings,* relating them to Koran bindings in The Archaeological Museum of Teheran, and the late Sir Henry Thomas gives a splendid and lively portrait of a great Renaissance Spaniard and his books in *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and his Plaquette Bindings.* Diplomat, scholar, humanist, poet, historian, and man of business, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza took pleasure in arranging the great Escorial Library with his King. It is fitting that the portrait of such a collector is the last contribution in the *Festschrift* for a great librarian of a later, though not less glamorous, era.

The Princeton University Press and the Meriden Gravure Company, who are responsible for the design and the printing of both text and illustrations respectively, deserve special thanks. It is not their doing that the book's bulk and size are somewhat hard on the reader. The tribute to Miss Greene is gigantic in more senses than one.

It is a tribute worthy of the first distinguished director of a great library, summed up in the words of Arthur M. Hind, "TO B.G. THIS SMALL TRIBUTE FROM AN OLD FRIEND, IN RECOGNITION OF HER GAIETY, HER HELPFULNESS, AND HER COURAGE."

KARL KUP

Spencer Collection,
The New York Public Library

DEKKER, THOMAS. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker.* Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume II. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955. viii, 592 pages. 5½ x 8¾ inches. $7.50.

It is a pleasure to welcome the second volume of this bibliographical edition of the plays of Dekker edited by Professor Fredson Bowers of the University of Virginia. The present volume contains *The Honest Whore* (Parts I and II, the First Part written with Thomas Middleton), *The Magnificent Entertainment,* given to King James on his entrance into London in 1604, *West-ward Hoe* and *North-ward Hoe* (both written with some slight assistance from John Webster) and *The Whore of Babylon.*

The editorial principles, procedures, and conventions adopted in editing Dekker's texts were described by Professor Bowers in the general introduction printed in Volume I, and may be briefly summarized here. For each play the editor has selected a copy-text, retaining from it the "accidentals," i.e., the general texture of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. This text has been collated with other early editions on two levels: (a) for "substantive" or authoritative editions a letter-by-letter, point-by-point comparison of multiple copies of the copy-text as these are accessible in the great libraries of Great Britain and the United States, and (b) for unauthoritative or "derived" editions, a selection of one or two copies each as a check. Press-variants are identified, doubtful readings are noted and when possible resolved, finicky emendation is avoided, and "substantive" alterations made only after due regard to bibliographical and palæographical probabilities. For the present volume only one extension of editorial method was necessary. Several of the plays here reprinted contain formes which were unlocked more than once for press-correction, and it was important, therefore, not only to record these successive alterations, but also to specify the copies which exhibit the correction in its various stages as well as those providing the earliest or uncorrected state of the type.

As in Volume I, the textual apparatus for each play consists of (1) a brief textual introduction, sometimes several pages in length, describing the peculiar problems of each play, the sources of the text, the copies collated, and the general results of such collation; (2) footnotes to the text itself, consisting of significant variants and emendations; (3) explanatory textual notes in defense of the more important emendations or refusals to emend; (4) press variants in authoritative editions; (5) emendations of "accidentals," and (6) an historical collation of substantive and semisubstantive

variants in early editions other than the copy-text before 1700. Literary matters, source-hunting, unscrambling authorship, glossary, elucidation, and interpretation are left to other hands. Professor Bowers' concern is text.

Each of the texts of the present volume reveals special problems. But on the basis of press variants, measure of type-page, differences of font, peculiarities of spelling and capitalization, style of "pointing," and treatment of stage directions and speech prefixes, it is possible to establish a workable hypothesis about what may have been the adventures of Dekker's text in the printing house.

The Honest Whore (in two parts), which, next to *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, is Dekker's most attractive play, mingles the moving theme of the reformed prostitute and the humors of Candido the patient linen-draper and his impatient wives. For Part I Q_1 (1604), set from a good manuscript, served as copy-text, collated from four extant copies. For some reason Q_1 seems to have been set in three sections: A-B, C-D, E-K, printed at three printing houses, and composed by at least four compositors. Q_2 (also 1604) exists in only two exemplars, both imperfect. It seems to have been printed, with corrections, in part from standing type of the first edition. (Professor Bowers has reason to believe that 39 pages were printed from standing type, 35 reset). Throughout the running title has been softened to "The Converted Covrtizan," and it may also have had that title. Q_3 (1605), known only from a copy in the Dyce Collection in the Victoria and Albert, was partly reimpressed from standing type for Q_2. The two remaining early editions of the play are reprints, Q_4 of Q_1, and Q_5 of Q_4, which have, therefore, no independent textual authority.

For Part II the textual situation is less complex. Although the work was entered in the *Stationers' Register* for publication in 1608, there is only a single quarto (1630), likewise from good copy, exemplars of which exist in both a corrected and an uncorrected state. For this edition it was possible to collate seventeen exemplars of this copy-text.

The Magnificent Entertainment (Q_1 1604) was a coronation souvenir describing the triumphant passage of King James, Queen Anne, and Prince Henry from the Tower through the City of London on 15 March, 1603/4, "with the speeches and Songes, deliuered with the seuerall Pageants." The author quaintly admits, however, that "a great part of those [i.e., what he called 'teadious speeches'] which are in the Booke set downe, were left vnspoken: So that thou doest here receiue them as they should haue bene deliuered, not as they were." *The Congressional Record* is

not without its precedents. For maximum speed in getting to market, the booklet appears to have been manufactured at five different printing houses. Apparently the demand justified a second edition (Q_2, also 1604), which represents a mixed text, likewise impressed by several printers in part from standing type with some alterations and corrections, the nature of which suggests that they may possibly have been made by Dekker himself. Q_3, printed in Edinburgh, 1604, has no independent textual authority; except for inner forme I it follows a corrected state of Q_1.

Because *The Magnificent Entertainment* was the work upon which Dekker shared honors (no doubt hostilely) with Ben Jonson, two other documents merit attention in any study of Dekker's text, though they yield little of importance. One is *Ben Jonson, his Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment through his Honorable Cittie of London* (1604), probably issued earlier in the year than Dekker's description. Nowhere in his book does Dekker mention Jonson's name, and his summaries of Jonson's elaborately written speeches are somewhat airily brief. The Jonson pamphlet, therefore, provides many details wanting in Dekker, and prints the speeches Dekker merely mentions. But it is of no assistance in fixing Dekker's text. The second document is architect Stephen Harrison's *The Archs of Triumph Erected in honor of the High and mighty prince James . . .* (1604), a work Dekker mentions (ll. 222-29) as in preparation. Harrison's book consists of handsome engravings of the seven ceremonial arches constructed in the City, together (when space was available) with the speeches, or parts of speeches, there delivered. But Harrison's text has little or no independent authority; he is thoroughly familiar with Dekker's *Entertainment* and borrows Dekker's phraseology. Yet there are a few literary revisions, besides cutting, but they are unimportant. Professor Bowers has taken both Jonson and Harrison fully into account.

West-ward Hoe and *North-ward Hoe* are semi-humorous comedies of manners on London life, after the fashion of the more familiar *Eastward Ho* which Jonson, Chapman, and Marston wrote as a reply to *West-ward Hoe,* and which in turn called forth *North-ward Hoe.* They feature such characters as Master Tenterhook (a citizen), Sir Gosling Glow-worm, Frank Monopoly, Ambush (a sergeant), Clutch (his yeoman), Birdlime (a bawd); Luke Greenshield and his wife Kate, Jack Hornet, Hans van Belch, Leapfrog, and Squirrel. Neither play presents any unusual textual problems; both exist in single quartos dated 1607, and both are superficially clean texts. The quarto of *West-ward Hoe,* which had been entered for publication in 1605 but withdrawn, was in 1607 probably printed on two

presses and thus typeset by two compositors; *North-ward Hoe* on only one press. Both texts exhibit some corruption and some correction during printing. The copy-text of *West-ward Hoe* represents a collation of seventeen extant copies, that of *North-ward Hoe*, eighteen.

The Whore of Babylon, which attempts "to set forth (in Tropicall and shadowed collours) the Greatnes, Magnanimity, Constancy, Clemency, and other the incomparable Heroical vertues of our late Queene," who is represented as Titania, the fairy queen, also exists in a single quarto, 1607. The text was probably set from Dekker's own manuscript. There is little press correction; what corruption and inconsistency appear may be the result of Dekker's own revisions or expansions of an earlier version or of another play.

The Bowers *Dekker* has by now established itself as a model of editing printed dramatic texts. The work will be complete in four volumes.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

New York University

QUINBY, JANE. *Beatrix Potter. A Bibliographic Check List.* New York, [The Author, 157 East 72nd St.], 1954. [London, Charles J. Sawyer, 1954.] Paper. Plates. 121 pp. 8¾ x 6½ inches. $10.00. Edition of 250 copies.

Beatrix Potter collectors have always had an advantage not generally enjoyed by others—her books are small. One shelf of a bookcase of modest proportions will hold everything, including variants. But these collectors also labored under a severe handicap—no even reasonably adequate bibliography existed to guide them through, or even point out the existence of, some very perplexing problems.

Miss Quinby has attended to this lack in what she modestly calls "this preliminary study." It is preliminary in that she unfortunately could not get from England certain essential records. It is to be hoped that eventually problems of priority of binding, plates, publication dates and the like will be solved. Whoever undertakes the job will have to be thankful for Miss Quinby's pioneering.

The Introduction clearly points out some of these questions, and deals with the format of the series, end-papers, illustrations and American editions. The earliest editions of *Peter Rabbit* in America have not yet been found.

Part II is a Check List with detailed collations of the text and plates, and what seem to this reviewer to be unnecessarily elaborate collations of the glazed-paper dust wrappers, and undue emphasis on obvious late reprintings. For example, thirty-three lines are given to a meticulous collation of the dust jacket of an obviously late (after 1933) edition of *The Story of a Fierce Bad Rabbit*. This is one of many such instances, none of the slightest bibliographic interest whatsoever. But perhaps it is better to have too much information rather than too little.

Much of Miss Quinby's information is documented as "dealer's description" (presumably laid in the book she is describing) or "dealer's catalogue," and so on. Why not identify the dealer in such cases? Certain dealers' catalogue descriptions are notoriously unreliable; others are competent and accurate. But surely we should be told by the compiler upon whom she is relying for statements of fact. And certainly a use of *Publishers' Weekly*, for American books, and similar British weekly trade papers, would have pin-pointed at least the week of publication and supplemented the information obtained from the *English Catalogue of Books* and the *United States Catalog*.

There actually was a cache of the copyright editions of *Peter Rabbit* and *The Tailor of Gloucester* unearthed in England fairly recently, not, as Miss Quinby puts it, "said to have been" discovered. It would be interesting to know just how many of each there were, and also to have some listing of the comparative rarity of the Potter titles.

David A. Randall

Indiana University

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Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the PAPERS:

I shall be glad if you will afford me the opportunity of laying a ghost created in Mr. William White's friendly review of my *Bibliography of Norman Douglas* which appeared in your issue of the First Quarter. He lists among my omissions "the London issue of the New York edition of *In the Beginning* (1928), with a Chatto & Windus title-page cancel slip."

In view of the fact that several Douglas collectors have written to me enquiring about this "issue," which was earlier mentioned by a reviewer in *The Library*, I feel it is my duty to say that Mr. White was deceived. No such issue exists. The example, in the British Museum Library, to which, presumably, both reviewers referred, is merely a copy sent for copyright by Messrs. John Day, *via* Chatto & Windus, the English publishers, to the British Museum. The reason for this was, of course, that the American edition preceded the English by almost two months.

CECIL WOOLF

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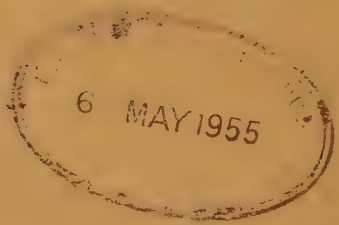

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